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COLLECTIONS
OF THE
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COLLECTIONS, &c.

A BRIEF RELATION OF THE DISCOVERY AND PLANTATION OF NEW ENGLAND :

*And of sundry Accidents therein occurring, from the year of our Lord
M.DC.VII. to this present M.DC.XXII.*

*Together with the State thereof as now it standeth ; the general form
of government intended ; and the division of the whole Territory
into Counties, Baronies, &c.*

LONDON, Printed by John Haviland, and are to be sold by William
Bladen, M.DC.XXII.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

To the Prince his Highness.

SIR,

As you are the height of our hopes and blessedness, next after your royal father our lord and sovereign : so, next unto his majesty, are we bound to dedicate our best endeavours to your princely service. And for the subject of this relation, as your highness hath been pleased to do it the honour, by giving it the name of New England ; and by your highness most favourable encouragement, to continue the same in life and being : so ought we to render an account of our proceedings, from the root thereof unto the present growth it hath ; which summarily is here done. If it shall appear naked (as in truth it is) we beseech your highness to receive it so much the rather for the truth's sake, and with your bounty and grace to shelter it from the storms and tempests

of malice and envy, by which it hath been heretofore despoiled of that goodly ornament it might have had by this time.

It is now almost able to comfort itself, and there is no question but by the light of your countenance, it will speedily grow, both to serve his majesty with honour and profit, and multiply the same service to your highness in time to come, as a tribute due for the grace it receives, by the blessings of a long peace and prosperity that our nation enjoys under the reign of his sacred majesty, through which we have the easier passage to advance the cross of Christ in heathen parts, and to display his banner in the head of his army against infernal spirits, which have so long kept those poor distressed creatures (the inhabitants of those parts) in bondage, whose posterity will for ever bless the time, that the issue of your royal ancestors, sprung from so imperial branches, should be the means to unite the divided crowns in one, where by the generous spirits of both nations may have the fairer opportunity to procure their liberties. If your highness accept of what is past, we will hope of happiness to ensue ; and howsoever, pray that all increase of honour in this world, and all heavenly blessings in the world to come, may light upon your highness ; as best becomes those that are

Your highness humble servants,

The President and Council
of New England.

*A brief relation of the discovery and plantation of
New England.*

ALTHOUGH it be a course, far from the mind of us, that are undertakers for the advancement of the plantation of New England, to seek by any vain ostentation to extol our own endeavours : yet we cannot but strive to vindicate our reputation from the injurious aspersions that have been laid upon it, by the malicious practices of

some that would adventure nothing in the beginning, but would now reap the benefit of our pains and charges, and yet not seem beholding to us; and to that end they disvalue what is past, and by sinister informations derogate what they can from the present course intended: the rather because the good orders appointed to be put in execution there, are likely to restrain the licentious irregularity of other places. And this hath induced us to publish our proceedings, whereunto it hath pleased God to give a blessing: as to any of indifferent judgment may appear by that which followeth.

WHEN this design was first attempted, some of the present company were therein chiefly interested; who being careful to have the same accomplished, did send to the discovery of those northern parts a brave gentleman, Captain Henry Challons, with two of the natives of that territory, the one called Maneday, the other Assecomet. But his misfortunes did expose him to the power of certain strangers, enemies to his proceedings, so that by them, his company were seized, the ships and goods confiscated, and that voyage wholly overthrown.

This loss, and unfortunate beginning, did much abate the rising courage of the first adventurers; but immediately upon his departure, it pleased the noble lord chief justice, Sir John Popham knight, to send out another ship, wherein Captain Thomas Haman went commander, and Martine Prinne of Bristow master, with all necessary supplies, for the seconding of Captain Challons and his people; who arriving at the place appointed, and not finding that captain there, after they had made some discovery, and found the coasts, havens, and harbours answerable to our desires, they returned. Upon whose relation the lord chief justice, and we all waxed so confident of the business, that the year following every man of any worth, formerly interested in it, was willing to join in the charge for the sending over a competent number of people to lay the ground of a hopeful plantation.

Hereupon Captain Popham, Captain Rawley Gilbert, and others were sent away with two ships, and an hun-

dred landmen, ordnance, and other provisions necessary for their sustentation and defence; until other supply might be sent. In the mean while, before they could return, it pleased God to take from us this worthy member, the lord chief justice, whose sudden death did so astonish the hearts of the most part of the adventurers, as some grew cold, and some did wholly abandon the business. Yet Sir Francis Popham his son, certain of his private friends, and other of us, omitted not the next year (holding on our first resolution) to join in sending forth a new supply, which was accordingly performed.

But the ships arriving there, did not only bring uncomfortable news of the death of the lord chief justice, together with the death of Sir John Gilbert, the elder brother unto Captain Rawley Gilbert, who at that time was president of that council: but found that the old Captain Popham was also dead; who was the only man (indeed) that died there that winter, wherein they indured the greater extremities; for that in the depth thereof, their lodgings and stores were burnt, and they thereby wondrously distressed.

This calamity and evil news, together with the resolution that Captain Gilbert was forced to take for his own return, (in that he was to succeed his brother, in the inheritance of his lands in England) made the whole company to resolve upon nothing but their return with the ships; and for that present to leave the country again, having in the time of their abode there (notwithstanding the coldness of the season, and the small help they had) built a pretty bark of their own, which served them to good purpose, as easing them in their returning.

The arrival of these people here in England, was a wonderful discouragement to all the first undertakers, in so much as there was no more speech of settling any other plantation in those parts for a long time after; only Sir Francis Popham having the ships and provision, which remained of the company, and supplying what was necessary for his purpose, sent divers times to the coasts for trade and fishing; of whose loss or gains himself is best able to give account.

Our people abandoning the plantation in this sort as you have heard; the Frenchmen immediately took the opportunity to settle themselves within our limits; which being heard of by those of Virginia, that discreetly took to their consideration the inconveniences that might arise, by suffering them to harbour there, they despatched Sir Samuel Argall, with commission to displace them, which he performed with much discretion, judgment, valour, and dexterity. For having seized their forts, which they had built at Mount Mansell, Saint Croix, and Port Reall, he carried away their ordnance; he also surprised their ship, cattle, and other provisions, which he transported to the colony in Virginia to their great benefit. And hereby he hath made a way for the present hopeful plantation to be made in Nova Scotia, which we hear his majesty hath lately granted to Sir William Alexander knight, one of his majesty's most honorable council of the kingdom of Scotland, to be held of the said crown, and that not without some of our privities, as by approbation under writing may and doth appear. Whereby it is manifest that we are so far from making a monopoly of all those lands belonging to that coast (as hath been scandalously by some objected) that we wish that many would undertake the like.

In this interim there were of us who apprehended better hopes of good that might ensue by this attempt being thereunto persuaded, both by the relations of our people that had endured the many difficulties whereunto such actions are subjected chiefly in the winter season; and likewise by the informations given them by certain of the natives, that had been kept a long time in their hands; wherefore we resolved once more to try the verity thereof, and to see if possibly we might find something that might induce a fresh resolution to prosecute a work so pious and so honourable. And thereupon they despatched Captain Hobson, of the Isle of Wight, together with Captain Herley, Master John Matthew, Master Sturton, with two savages, the one called Epenow, the other Manawet, with commission and directions fit for them to observe and follow, the better to bring to

pass what was expected. But as in all human affairs, there is nothing more certain, than the uncertainty thereof; so fell it out in this; for a little before such time as they arrived upon the coast with the aforesaid savages, who were naturals of those parts, it happened there had been one Hunt (a worthless fellow of our nation) set out by certain merchants for love of gain; who (not content with the commodity he had by the fish and peaceable trade he found among the savages) after he had made his despatch, and was ready to set sail, (more savagelike than they) seized upon the poor innocent creatures, that in confidence of his honesty had put themselves into his hands. And stowing them under hatches, to the number of twenty-four, carried them into the Straits, where he sought to sell them for slaves, and sold as many as he could get money for. But when it was understood from whence they were brought, the friars of those parts took the rest from them, and kept them to be instructed in the christian faith; and so disappointed this unworthy fellow of the hopes of gain he conceived to make by this new and devilish project.

This being known by our two savages, formerly spoken of, they presently contracted such an hatred against our whole nation, as they immediately studied how to be revenged; and contrived with their friends the best means to bring it to pass; but Manawet dying in a short time after the ships arrival there, and the other observing the good order, and strong guard our people kept, studied only how to free himself out of our hands, and thereupon laid the plot very orderly, and indeed effected his purpose, although with so great hazard to himself and friends, that labored his rescue, that Captain Hobson and his whole company imagined he had been slain. And though in the recovery of his body they wounded the master of our ship, and divers other of our company, yet was not their design without the slaughter of some of their people, and the hurts of other, compassed, as appeared afterward.

Hereupon Captain Hobson and his company, conceiving the end of their attempt to be frustrate, resolved

without more ado to return, and so those hopes, that charge and voyage was lost also, for they brought home nothing but the news of their evil success, of the unfortunate cause thereof, and of a war now new began between the inhabitants of those parts, and us. A miserable comfort for so weak means as were now left, to pursue the conclusion of so tedious an enterprize.

While this was a working, we found the means to send out Captain John Smith from Plymouth, in a ship, together with Master Darmer and divers others with him, to lay the foundation of a new plantation, and to try the fishing of that coast, and to seek to settle a trade with the natives: but such was his misfortune, as being scarce free of our own coast, he had his masts shaken overboard by storms and tempests, his ship wonderfully distressed, and in that extremity forced to come back again; so as the season of the year being almost spent, we were of necessity enforced to furnish him with another ship, and taking out the provision of the first, despatched him away again, who coming to the height of the Western Islands, was chased by a French pirate, and by him made prisoner, although his ship in the night escaped away, and returned home with the loss of much of her provision, and the overthrow of that voyage, to the ruin of that poor gentleman Captain Smith, who was detained prisoner by them, and forced to suffer many extremities, before he got free of his troubles.

Notwithstanding these disasters it pleased God so to work for our encouragement again, as he sent into our hands Tasquantum, one of those savages that formerly had been betrayed by this unworthy Hunt before named, by whose means there was hope conceived to work a peace between us, and his friends, they being the principal inhabitants of that coast, where the fire was kindled. But this savage Tasquantum, being at that time in the New-found land with Captain Mason governour there for the undertakers of that plantation: Master Darmer (who was there also, and sometimes before employed as we have said by us, together with Captain John Smith) found the means to give us intelligence of him, and his

opinion of the good use that might be made of his employment, with the readiness of Captain Mason, to further any of our attempts that way, either with boats or other provision necessary, and resolving himself to go from thence, advised us to send some to meet with him, at our usual place of fishing, to aid him in his endeavour, that they joining together, might be able to do what he hoped would be very acceptable unto all well wishers of that business.

Upon this news, we despatched the next season Captain Rocraft, with a company for that purpose, in hope to have met with Captain Darmer ; but the care and discretion of Captain Mason was such, finding Captain Darmer's resolution to go beyond his means, that he persuaded him first to go for England, that providing himself there, as was requisite, he might proceed in time expedient, which counsel he observed (as fit it was) although our expectation of his joining with Captain Rocraft was thereby disappointed. Yet so it happened, that Captain Rocraft at his arrival in those parts, met with a French bark that lay in a creek a fishing, and trading, which he seized on, and sent home the master and company in the same ship which he went out in.

With this bark and his own company, he meant to keep the coast that winter quarter, being very well fitted both with salt, and other necessaries for his turn ; but as this was an act of extremity (the poor man being of our own religion) so succeeded it accordingly. For in a short time after, certain of this captain's company conspired together to cut his throat, and to make themselves masters of the whole spoil, and so to seek a new fortune where they could best make it. This conspiracy being discovered to the captain, he let it go on, till the time that it should have been put in execution, when he caught them in their own train, and so apprehended them in the very instant that they were purposed to begin their massacre.

But after he had prevented the mischief, and seized upon the malefactors, he took to his consideration what was best to be done with them. And being loath by

himself to despatch them as they deserved, he resolved to put them ashore, thinking by their hazard that it was possible they might discover something, that might advance the publick; and so giving them some arms for their defence, and some victual for their sustentation until they knew better how to provide for themselves, he left them at a place called Sawagatock, where they remained not long, but got from thence to Menehighon, an island lying some three leagues in the sea, and fifteen leagues from that place, where they remained all that winter, with bad lodging, and worse fare, yet came all safe home save one sickly man, which died there, the rest returned with the ship we sent for Rocraft's supply and provision, to make a fishing voyage.

After these fellows were landed, the captain finding himself but weakly man'd, and his ship to draw too much water to coast those places, that by his instructions he was assigned to discover, he resolved to go for Virginia where he had lived a long time before, and had (as he conceived) many friends, that would help him with some things that he had occasion to use. Arriving there, he was not deceived of his expectation; for Sir Samuel Argall being their governour, and one that respected him much for his own sake, was the readier to help him, in regard of the good he wished to the business wherein he was employed.

But all this could not prevail, for after that Sir Samuel Argall came from thence (his departure being more sudden than was expected) it fell out that the new governour entered the harbour: and finding Rocraft ready to be gone, sent to him to command him to come aboard to speak with him, which he readily obeyed, as soon as he could fit his boat and men for that purpose. And so leaving his bark with her great anchor ahead, and taking with him the half of his company, he was forced to stay aboard the new governour's ship that night. In the mean while a storm arising, our bark wanting hands to do their labour, drove ashore, and there sunk. But yet the governour and captain so laboured the next day, when they knew thereof, as that they freed her again, but

that occasion forced our captain to stay so long in the country to fit himself anew, as in the interim a quarrel fell out between him and another of that place; so as Rocraft was slain, and the bark sunk the second time, and finally disabled from yielding us any benefit to this present.

But we not knowing this disaster, and Captain Darmer arriving with his savage out of New-found-land, we despatched him away the next season, in a ship we sent again for the fishing business, and assigned him a company to join with Rocraft and his people.

Captain Darmer arriving there, and not finding Rocraft, was a little perplexed, and in doubt what to do: yet hearing by those mutineers which he found there, that he was gone for Virginia, he was hopeful of his return; and lived in that expectation, till such time as he heard (by a ship that came from thence to fish for the colony) the confusion of his fortune, and the end of his misery in this world. Then he determined to take the pinnace that the year before was assigned to Rocraft for him to make the trade with, and with her to proceed on his design, and so embarked himself, and his provision and company in her. And leaving the fishermen to their labour, he coasted the shore from thence, searching every harbour, and compassing every cape-land, till he arrived in Virginia; where he was in hope to meet with some of the provision, or company of Rocraft, to help to supply him of what he wanted; as also to lay a deck upon his pinnace, that before had not any, and now was taught by experience the necessity of having that defect supplied.

But those hopes failed him (all being before that time ruined and dispersed) so far as he saw it in vain to hope for help by that means, and therefore attempted to make the best of what he had of his own. And going to set his men a work, they all in a few days after their arrival, fell sick of a disease which happened at that time in the country, so as now he was not only forced to be without hope of their helping of him, but must labour himself all he could to attend and sustain them; but so God favour-

ed him, that they recovered, and in time convenient he despatched his business there, and put himself to sea again, resolving to accomplish in his journey back to New England, what in his last discovery he had omitted.

In his passage he met with certain Hollanders, who had a trade in Hudson's River some years before that time, with whom he had conference about the state of that coast, and their proceedings with those people, whose answer gave him good content. He betook himself to the following of his business, discovering many goodly rivers, and exceeding pleasant, and fruitful coasts, and islands, for the space of eighty leagues from east to west, for so that coast doth range along from Hudson's River to Cape James.

Now after we had found by Captain Rocraft's relation made the year before, the hopes he conceived of the benefits that coast would afford, towards the upholding of the charge for settling our plantation by reason of the commodities arising by fishing and furs, if a course might be taken for the managing of that business, as was fit for such a design; as well as for the advancement of the publick good of our whole nation, and satisfaction of every well disposed person, that had a will to be interested therein.

It was held to be most convenient to strengthen ourselves by a new grant to be obtained from his royal majesty: the rather, finding that those of Virginia had by two several patents settled their bounds, and excluded all from intermeddling with them that were not free of their company; and had wholly altered the form of their government, from the first ground laid for the managing the affairs of both colonies, leaving us as desperate, and our business as abandoned.

These considerations (as is said) together with the necessity of settling our affairs, bounds and limits, distinct from theirs, made us resolve to petition his majesty for the renewing of our grant.

By which time the rumour of our hopes was so publickly spread abroad, and the commodities of the fish, and trade so looked into, as it was desired, that all that

coast might be made free, as well to those of Virginia as to us to make their commodity ; how just or unjust that motion was, we will not argue, seeing the business is ended.

By this means, our proceedings were interrupted, and we questioned about it ; first, by the council of Virginia, whom we thought to have been fully satisfied therein, before we could have way given us for a new patent, both parties having been heard by certain of the lords of the council ; and the business by them so ordered, as we were directed to proceed and to have our grant agreeable to the liberty of the Virginia company, the frame of our government excepted ; but this order not being liked of, it was again heard and concluded. Lastly, the patent being past the seal, it was stopt upon new suggestions to the king, and by his majesty referred to the council to be settled, by whom the former orders were confirmed, the difference cleared, and we ordered to have our patent delivered us.

These disputes held us almost two years, so as all men were afraid to join with us, and we thereby left hopeless of any thing more, than that which our own fortunes would yield to advance our proceedings, in which time so many accidents happened unto us at home, and abroad, that we were fain to give order by the ships we sent a fishing, for the retiring of Master Darmer, and his people, until all things were cleared, and we better provided of means to go through with our design : but this worthy gentleman, confident of the good likely to ensue, and resolutely resolving to pursue the ends he aimed at, could not be persuaded to look back, as yet ; and so refusing to accept our offer, began again to prosecute his discovery, wherein he was betrayed by certain new savages, who suddenly set upon him, giving him fourteen or fifteen wounds ; but by his valour, and dexterity of spirit he freed himself out of their hands, yet was constrained to retire into Virginia again the second time, for the cure of his wounds, where he fell sick of the infirmities of that place, and thereof died : so ended this worthy gentleman his days, after he had remained in the discovery

of that coast two years, giving us good content in all he undertook ; and after he had made the peace between us and the savages, that so much abhorred our nation, for the wrongs done them by others, as you have heard : but the fruit of his labour in that behalf we as yet receive to our great commodity, who have a peaceable plantation at this present among them, where our people both prosper, and live in good liking, and assuredness of their neighbours, that had been formerly so much exasperated against us, as will more at large appear hereafter.

But having passed all these storms abroad, and undergone so many home-bred oppositions, and freed our patent which we were by order of state assigned to renew, for the amendment of some defects therein contained, we were assured of this ground more boldly to proceed on than before, and therefore we took first to consideration how to raise the means to advance the plantation ; in the examination thereof, two ways did offer themselves. The one was the voluntary contribution of the patentees ; the other, by an easy ransoming of the freedoms of those that had a will to partake only of the present profits, arising by the trade, and fishing upon the coast.

The first was to proceed from those noblemen, and others that were patentees, and they agreed by order among themselves to disburse a hundred pounds a piece, for the advancement of such necessary business, as they had in hand.

The second was to be accomplished by settling such liberties and orders in the western cities, and towns, as might induce every reasonable man, in, and about them, affecting the public good, or a regular proceeding in the business of trade, to embrace an uniformity, and to join in a community, or joint stock together : how reasonable or unreasonable those orders were, is hereafter to be seen, and judged by every well affected person, or any truly loving the public good of our nation, whereunto is annexed the difference of trading by a joint stock under government and order ; and the promiscuous trading without order, and in a disjointed manner, as of late

they have done to the infinite prejudice of others already, as also to the loss of many of themselves, that contemptuously and greedily have leapt into that course, as it were in despite of all authority, whose reward, in time, will follow.

Before these orders were to be tendered to those cities and towns, it was desired that there might be letters sent from their lordships, admonishing them of his majesty's royal grant, that prohibiteth any not free of that business, to intermeddle within our limits, upon pain of confiscation of ship and goods. These letters expressing withal the good affection of those that were interested in the business, to entertain any that should be willing to conform themselves to such orders, as had in that behalf been established.

But those letters how full of justice soever they appeared, were as distasteful, as was the rumour of order unto them : for by it every particular man thought himself straight debarred of liberty to run his own current, in which he thought his freedom did only consist ; and by debarring him thereof, his private ends were overthrown, which was to endeavour to prevent his neighbour of the mark he aimed at, or the harbour he resolved to go unto, or the present trade he expected to have by his private industry, but as for the publick he cared not, let that fare as it would. While these things were in dispute, and likely to have taken a good foundation, the news of the Parliament flew to all parts, and then the most factious of every place, presently combined themselves to follow the business in Parliament, where they presumed to prove the same to be a monopoly, and much tending to the prejudice of the common good. But that there should be a conformity in trade, or a course taken to prevent the evils that were likely to ensue, or to appropriate possessions, or lands, after a generous manner, in remote parts of the world, to certain publick persons, of the commonwealth, for the taking care, and spending their time and means how to advance the enlargement of their country, the honour of their king, and glory of their God ; these were thought crimes worthy the taking notice of, and the

principal actors in this kind, must be first traduced in private, then publickly called upon in Parliament, to answer such other scandals as could by malice be invented.

But as this business was in itself just, and righteous, so was it as earnestly desired, they might have had the opportunity to have answered it before so impartial judges, and so reverend persons ; if so it might have been without offence to the authority of his royal majesty, that had extended itself by virtue of his prerogative so far off, and without the laws of this realm, and to be put in execution without the public expense, or charge of the commonwealth, or prejudice to any other former employments of our nation, and indeed without offence to any that coveted not to put their sickle into the harvest of other men, or whose envious and covetous humours stirred them not up to shame themselves in the conclusion.

These troubles thus unfortunately falling out, have notwithstanding hindered us from the hopes we had this year to give some life extraordinarily to those affairs, and therefore we are forced of necessity to refer the main of our resolution, till a more convenient opportunity, and till we have gotten our ships and provision fit to serve our turns both to give the law along those coasts, and to perform such other service, as is thereby intended for the public good of our adventurers, and defence of our merchants, that shall frequent those places, according to such orders, as shall be found behoveful in that behalf.

The clime and condition of the country, and the present estate of our affairs there.

You have heard already the many disasters, calamities, misfortunes, oppositions, and hindrances we have had, and received. Howbeit many are omitted, in that we desire not to trouble the reader with more than enough ; or to affright the minds of weak spirits, that will believe

there is no better success to be looked for from such attempts : although it be true that the best designs do oftentimes carry with them the most impediments, whether it be that God will have it so, to try our constancy, or otherwise to make us know, that it is he only that worketh after his own will, according to the time he hath assigned, and that there is nothing done but by him, as also that, that is only best which he will have to be done, and that time most proper which he hath assigned for the same.

But by these you may imagine (seeing we have none other helps than our own fortunes to build upon) there can no great matters be performed in these storms and tempests. Notwithstanding, you may know we have not been more hindered one way, than blessed another : for, as our patience, constancy, travels and charge hath been great, so hath it (indeed) manifoldly been requited : for, by God's favour, and these gentlemen's industry, we have made a most ample discovery of the most commodious country for the benefit of our nation, that ever hath been found.

For better satisfaction of the reader in this behalf, we have thought it fit, by the way, to acquaint him first with the nature of the place where we have settled ourselves, whereby he may see reason for what we have done, remembering him likewise, that in settling of plantations, there is principally to be considered ; the air, for the health of the inhabitants ; the soil, for fertility fit for corn, and feeding of cattle wherewith to sustain them ; the sea, for commodity of trade and commerce, the better to enrich their publick and private state, as it shall grow to perfection ; and to raise employments, to furnish the course of those affairs.

Now for the quality of the air, there is none of judgment but knows it proceedeth either from the general disposition of the sphere, or from the particular constitution of the place.

Touching the disposition of the sphere, it is not only seated in the temperate zone, but as it were in the centre, or middle part thereof, for that the middle part of that

country stands in the forty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of the northern latitude, that is, twenty degrees from the fiery tropick, and as much from the freezing arctick circle : under the same climate and course of the sun that Constantinople, and Rome, the ladies of the world ; Italy, and France, the gardens of Europe, have their situation, within the limits of the fifth and sixth climate, after the latter computation ; having their longest day fifteen hours and some odd minutes.

Touching the constitution of the place (which is about fifty degrees by sea from our continent westerly) the maritime parts thereof are somewhat colder, than the nature of the clime otherwise affordeth ; so that the beams of the sun are weakened, partly by the unstable reflection of the same upon the sea, and partly by being laden with abundance of moisture it exhales out of the vast ocean, whereby the nature thereof is not so violently there expressed, as in the like parallel further into the main is accustomed. Nor is that sea coast so subject to droughts or want of rain in seasonable times, as other parts are of like latitudes, and by that reason the sea coasts are at all times more cold than is the island. And the eastern coast which receiveth the rising of the sun, is likewise colder than are the western parts, towards the declining of the same, as our morning airs (for example) even in the heat of summer are cold and quick, when the day and evening are very sweltering. And this makes those parts more suitable to the nature of our people, who neither find content in the colder climates, nor health in the hotter ; but (as herbs and plants) affect their native temperature, and prosper kindly no where else.

And, indeed, the hot countries yield sharper wits, but weaker bodies, and fewer children ; the colder, more slow of conceit, but stronger of body, and more abounding in procreation. So that, though the invention of arts hath risen from the southern nations, yet they have still been subject to the inundations, and invasions of the more northerly people, by reason of their multitudes, together with the strength of their body, and hardness of their constitutions.

But this country, what by the general and particular situation, is so temperate, as it seemeth to hold the golden mean, and indeed is most agreeable to the nature of our own, which is made manifest by experience, the most infallible proof of all assertions; in so much as our people that are settled there, enjoy their life and health much more happily, than in other places; which can be imputed to no other cause, than the temperature of the climate.

Now, as the clime is found to be so temperate, so delicate, and healthful, both by reason and experience; such is the soil also, some parts thereof yielding wonderful increase, both of the corn, the natives have most use of; as also of our own, of all sorts: with infinite variety of nourishing roots, and other herbs, and fruits, common among them, but rare with us.

Besides, the coast doth abound with most convenient havens, and harbours, full of singular islands, fit for plantation; replenished with plants and wood of all sorts; as oak, cedars, spruce, fir, pine, walnut, chesnut, elm, sassafras, plum trees, and calamus aromaticus, &c.

The people are tractable (if they be not abused) to commerce and trade with all, and as yet have good respect of us. The seas are stored with all kinds of excellent fish, and in many places upon the coast, fit to make salt in. The country aboundeth with diversity of wild fowl, as turkeys, partridges, swans, cranes, wild geese of two sorts, wild ducks of three sorts, many doves, especially when strawberries are ripe.

There are several sorts of deer in those parts, and some that bring forth two, three, and four young at once, which is a manifest proof of the fertility of the soil, or temper of the clime, or both together.

There is also a certain beast, that the natives call a moose, he is as big bodied as an ox, headed like a fallow deer, with a broad palm, which he mues every year, as doth the deer, and neck like a red deer, with a short mane, running down along the reins of his back, his hair long like an elk, but esteemed to be better than that for saddlers' use, he hath likewise a great bunch hanging down

under his throat, and is of the colour of our blacker sort of fallow deer; his legs are long, and his feet as big as the feet of our oxen, his tail is longer than the single of a deer, and reacheth almost down to his huxens, his skin maketh very good buff, and his flesh is excellent good food, which the natives use to jerkin and keep all the year to serve their turn, and so proves very serviceable for their use. There have been many of them seen in a great island upon the coast, called by our people Mount Mansell, whither the savages go at certain seasons to hunt them; the manner whereof is, by making of several fires; and setting the country with people, to force them into the sea, to which they are naturally addicted, and then there are others that attend them in their boats with bows and weapons of several kinds, wherewith they slay and take at their pleasure. And there is hope that this kind of beasts may be made serviceable for ordinary labour with art and industry.

The known commodities of that country, are fish of several sorts, rich furs, as beavers, otters, martins, black fox, sables, &c. There are likewise plenty of vines, of three kinds, and those pleasant to the taste, yet some better than other. There is hemp, flax, silkgrass, several veins of ironstone, commodities to make pitch, rosin, tar; deal boards of all sorts, spars, masts, for ships of all burdens; in a word, there comes no commodity out of France, Germany, or the Sound, but may be had there, with reasonable labour and industry.

Further we have settled at this present, several plantations along the coast, and have granted patents to many more that are in preparation to be gone with all conveniency. Those of our people that are there, have both health and plenty, so as they acknowledge there is no want of any thing, but of industrious people, to reap the commodities that are there to be had, and they are indeed so much affected to the place, as they are loath to be drawn from thence, although they were directed to return to give satisfaction to those that sent them, but chose rather to perform that office by letters, together with their excuse, for breach of their duty in that behalf. And thus

you see there is no labour well employed, but hath his reward at one time or other.

These encouragements have emboldened us to proceed, to the engaging of ourselves, for the building of some ships of good burden, and extraordinary mould, to lie upon the coast for the defence of merchants and fishermen, that are employed there, as also to waft the fleets, as they go to and from their markets: and we purpose from henceforth to build our shipping there, where we find all commodities fit for that service, together with the most opportune places, that can be desired.

Lastly, finding that we have so far forth prevailed, as to wind ourselves into familiarity with the natives, (which are in no great number) along the coast for two hundred leagues together, we have now despatched some of our people of purpose, to dive into the bowels of the continent, there to search and find out what port, or place, is most convenient to settle our main plantation in, where we mean to make the residence of our state and government as also to be assured, what other commodities may be raised for the publick, and private benefit of those that are dealers in that business, and willing to be interested in any the lands there: whither is gone this year already, for trade and fishing only, thirty sail of the better sort of ships, belonging to the western parts, besides those who are gone for transportation of the planters, or supply of such as are already planted, whose return (as is supposed) will amount (at the least) to thirty thousand pound, the greater part whereof comes home in bullion.

And therefore as touching the third happiness of these parts, which is the sea, there needeth no other or greater commendation than this benefit of fishing assured unto us by common experience; although it affords many other hopes both in regard of the facility of the navigation, the boldness of the coast, the conveniency of roads, havens and harbours, for performance of all manner of employment; yet is there also found shows of pearl, ambergris, great numbers of whales, and other merchantable means to raise profit to the industrious inhabitants or diligent traders.

Here you may see to what profit our industry and charge hath been employed ; what benefit our country is like to receive by it, and whether it be reason we should be so traduced, as we have been, we seeking nothing more than the glory of God, the enlarging of his highness' dominions, and general good of all his majesty's loyal subjects, and striving for the better accomplishments thereof to keep order, and settle government in those affairs, to preserve from ruin and confusion so fair a foundation, whereon is likely to be built the goodliest frame that hath ever been undertaken to be raised by our nation.

■ *The Platform of the government, and divisions of the territories in general.*

As there is no commonwealth that can stand without government, so the best governments have ever had their beginnings from one supreme head, who hath disposed of the administration of justice, and execution of publick affairs, either according to laws established, or by the advice, or counsel of the most eminent, discreetest, and best able in that kind. The verity of this is so clear, as it needs no example : for that indeed all nations from the beginning, unto this present, follow still the same rule in effect, howsoever they vary in the form, or some small circumstances.

And upon this general ground, the kings of these our realms did first lay the foundations of their monarchies ; reserving unto themselves the sovereign power of all (as fit it was) and dividing their kingdoms into countries, baronies, hundreds, and the like ; instituted their lieutenants, or officers, meet to govern those subdivisions, that the subject might with the more ease receive justice, and the sovereigns at more leisure the better able to dispose of matters of greater consequence.

This foundation being so certain, there is no reason for us to vary from it, and therefore we have resolved to build our edifices upon it, and to frame the same after

the platform already laid, and from whence we take our denomination. So as we purpose to commit the managing of our whole affairs there in general, unto a governor, to be assisted by the advice and counsel of so many of the patentees as shall be there resident, together with the officers of state, that is to say; the treasurer for the managing of the treasure and revenues belonging to that state. The marshal, for matters of arms, and affairs of wars, be it defensive or offensive. The admiral for maritime business civil or criminal, and the forces belonging to the sea. The master of the ordnance for munition, artillery and other provisions for publick store of armies by sea or land; as also such other persons of judgment and experience, as by the president and council established here, for the better governing of those affairs shall be thought fit.

By this head, and these members, united together, the great affairs of the whole state is to be managed, according to their several authorities, given them from their superiours, the president and council established as aforesaid.

And for that all men by nature are best pleased to be their own carvers, and do most willingly submit to those ordinances, or orders whereof themselves are authors: it is therefore resolved, that the general laws whereby that state is to be governed, shall be first framed and agreed upon by the general assembly of the states of those parts, both spiritual and temporal.

For the better distinction whereof, and the more orderly proceeding, agreeable, (as is said) to the present state of this our realm, two parts of the whole territory is to be divided between the patentees, into several counties, to be by themselves or their friends planted, at their pleasure or best commodity. The other third part is to be reserved for public uses, to be belonging to the state, as their revenue for defraying of public charge.

But as well this third part, as the two formerly spoken of, is to be divided into counties, baronies, hundreds, and the like, from all which the deputies for every county, and barony, are to be sent in the name and behalf of the

subjects, under them to consult and agree upon the laws so to be framed, as also to reform any notable abuses committed in former proceedings.

Yet these are not to be assembled, but by order from the president and council here, who are to give life to the laws so to be made, as those to whom of right it best belongs, according to his majesty's royal grant in that behalf, as also that under God, and his sacred highness, they are the principal authors of that foundation. And thus much for the general form of our government.

In like manner are the counties to be governed by the chief head or deputy thereof with other officers under him. As his steward, comptroller, treasurer of his revenues; and so the baronies by their stewards, and other inferiour ministers, who are to have assigned them the power of high and low justice within themselves for determining of controversies, with reservation of appeal in some cases to the supreme courts.

And further, these lords of counties may of themselves subdivide their said county into manors and lordships, as to them shall seem best, giving to the lords thereof power of keeping of courts, and leets, as is here used in England, for the determining of petty matters, arising between the lords, and the tenants, or any other.

And there is no less care to be taken for the trade and public commerce of merchants, whose government ought to be within themselves, in respect of the several occasions arising between them, the tradesmen, and other the mechanicks, with whom they have most to do: and who are generally the chief inhabitants of great cities, and towns, in all parts; it is likewise provided, that all the cities in that territory, and other inferiour towns where tradesmen are in any numbers, shall be incorporate and made bodies politick, to govern their affairs and people as it shall be found most behoveful for the public good of the same; according unto the greatness or capacity of them, who shall be made likewise capable to send certain their deputies, or burgesses to this public assembly, as members thereof, and who shall have voices equal with any the rest.

By this you see our main drift is but to take care for the well ordering of the business, seeking by all means to avoid (what we may) the intermeddling with any men's monies, or disposing of any men's fortunes, save only our own; leaving to every particular undertaker the employment of their adventures, and the raising of their profits, out of their proper limits, and possessions, as shall seem best to themselves, or their officers, or ministers, whom they employ, and whom they may be bold to question, or displace, as to themselves shall seem most fitting.

And hereby all men may know, that as it is not in our wills to delude and deceive any, so we are careful not to give the least cause of suspicion of any evil in that kind; so much the rather for that we daily see by experience, the abuses committed in like cases by inferiour ministers, to be a notable cause to dehort the good dispositions of many otherwise well affected to plantations, for that they observe those that are so employed to grow rich, and their adventures to come to nothing.

And we further desire that all men should be persuaded, we covet not to engross any thing at all unto ourselves, but that we should be exceeding glad to find more of our nation, so free in disposition, as to partake with us, as well in the profit, as in the future travel, and charge thereof; without looking back to our expense, or labour already past, to the end that all our hands being united together, the work may be so much the sooner advanced, well knowing and freely confessing, that it is sufficient to give content to a multitude, and that of all sorts. For such as are truly pious, shall find here the opportunity to put in practice the works of piety, both in building of churches, and raising of colleges for the breeding of youth, or maintenance of divines and other learned men. If they be such as affect glory, and to continue their memory to future ages, they may have here the means to raise houses, parishes, yea towns, or provinces, to their names and posterity. Do they aim at wealth? here is the way for their industry to satiate their appetites in that, if they be not unsatiable. Do they long after pleasure? here is as much to be had as may

content any, not merely voluptuous, or only prodigal. Do they aspire to be commanders? here is the place where they may have command of their own friends, or tenants, if they be of any worth, or means extraordinary wherewith to transport any numbers. If otherwise of experience and virtue, it is likely they may attain places of government for the publick state. So as you see there wants no occasions, or opportunity to invite, or give satisfaction to such as have patience to attend the time.

And indeed we shall be glad, that this, or any thing else may induce a free and noble resolution, in any well affected person, to endeavour the advancement of these ends, together with us, in that they shall find them agreeable to honour and honesty; and if there be any that can add ought unto our endeavours, by their advice or otherwise, there is none that shall more readily embrace the same than we; whose intents are only framed for the prosperity of the business, as is already said, and as we hope will all those be, that shall assent to join with us, both in the labour, profit, and honour, without respect to the weakness of the motive, by which it hath been heretofore moved, or any thing save the work itself. For by it you shall find the honour of our God, our king, and nation, will be advanced, without effusion of christian blood, or question of wrong to the present inhabitants. For that they themselves both desire it, and we intend not to take ought, but what they that are there, are willing we should be seized of, both for the defence of them against their enemies, and their preservation in peace among themselves, and propagation of the christian faith, which with wonderful alacrity many of them seem to give ear unto, and for whose speedy conversion we intend to be as careful as of our own happiness; and as diligent to build them houses, and to provide them tutors for their breeding, and bringing up of their children, of both sexes, as to advance any other business whatsoever, for that we acknowledge ourselves specially bound thereunto. And this being done, to refer the success, to the author of heaven and earth, to whom be all honour and glory.

F I N I S .

MOURT'S RELATION.

BOSTON, April 21, 1819.

Dear Sir,

I HEREWITH present you with the portion of *Mourt's Relation*, which Mr. Du Ponceau has obligingly procured to be copied for the Historical Society, from a copy of that rare work, which I had suggested to his examination, and which is in the City Library of Philadelphia. You will unite with me in acknowledgments for this very acceptable service, which Mr. Du Ponceau has performed with his characteristick assiduity and accuracy. I have mentioned to him, that a publication of it was intended, and that I should put the MSS. into your hands for that purpose, as a just expression of grateful deference for your previous labours on that portion of the Relation, which was republished in our Collections.—What is now supplied is very interesting. I have annexed to the MSS. a few remarks, which occurred to me in the perusal, and shall cheerfully give you every aid in my power in elucidation of this venerable document.

Yours with great regard,
J. DAVIS.

Rev. Dr. Freeman,

RELATION OR JOURNAL OF THE BEGINNING AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE ENGLISH PLANTATION SETTLED AT PLIMOTH IN NEW ENGLAND, BY CERTAIN ENGLISH ADVENTURERS, BOTH MERCHANTS AND OTHERS.

With their difficult passage, their safe arrival, their joyful building of, and comfortable planting themselves in the now well defended Town of New Plimoth.
As also a Relation of Four several discoveries since made by some of English Planters there resident.

- I. *In a journey to Puckanokick* the habitation of the Indians' greatest King, Massasoyt: as also their message, the answer and entertainment they had of him.*
 - II. *In a voyage made by ten of them to the Kingdom of Nawset, to seek a boy that had lost himself in the woods: with such accidents as befell them in that voyage.*
 - III. *In their journey to the Kingdom of Namaschet, in defence of their greatest King Massasoyt, against the Narrohiggonsets, and to revenge the supposed death of their Interpreter Tisquantum.*
 - IIII. *Their voyage to the Massachusetts and their entertainment there.*
- With an answer to all such objections as are any way made against the lawfulness of English plantations in those parts.*

LONDON, Printed for John Bellamie, and are to be sold at his shop at the two Greyhounds in Cornhill, near the Royal Exchange. 1622.

To his much respected friend, Mr. I. P. †

Good friend: as we cannot but account it an extraordinary blessing of God in directing our course for these parts, after we came out of our native country, for that we had the happiness to be possessed of the comforts we receive by the benefit of one of the most pleasant, most healthful, and most fruitful parts of the world: so must we acknowledge the same blessing to be multiplied upon our whole company, for that we obtained the honour to receive allowance and approbation of our free possession, and enjoying thereof under the authority of those thrice honoured persons, the President and Council for the affairs of New England, by whose bounty and grace, in that behalf, all of us are tied to dedicate our best service unto them, as those under his majesty, that we owe it unto: whose noble endeavours in these their actions the God of heaven and earth multiply to his glory and their own eternal comforts.

* It is so printed, PUCKANOKICK, but it is an error of the press: it should be Packanokick, and so it is printed in the Relation. *Transcriber.*

† I. P., probably the initials of John Pierce, in whose name their first patent was taken.

As for this poor Relation, I pray you to accept it, as being writ by the several actors themselves, after their plain and rude manner: therefore doubt nothing of the truth thereof: if it be defective in any thing, it is their ignorance, that are better acquainted with planting than writing. If it satisfy those that are well affected to the business, it is all I care for. Sure I am the place we are in, and the hopes that are apparent, cannot but suffice any that will not desire more than enough, neither is there want of ought among us but company to enjoy the blessings so plentifully bestowed upon the inhabitants that are here. While I was a writing this, I had almost forgot, that I had but the recommendation of the relation itself, to your further consideration, and therefore I will end without saying more, save that I shall always rest

Yours in the way of friendship,

R. G.*

From Plimoth in New England.

To the Reader.

COURTEOUS reader, be entreated to make a favourable construction of my forwardness, in publishing discourses, the desire of carrying the gospel of Christ into those foreign parts, amongst those people that as yet have had no knowledge, nor taste of God, as also to procure unto themselves and others a quiet and comfortable habitation: were amongst other things the inducements (unto these undertakers of the then hopeful, and now experimentally known good enterprise for plantation, in New England) to set afoot and prosecute the same and

* Perhaps *Richard Gardiner*, whose name is on the list preserved by *Prince*. We do not find his name afterwards in the assignment of lands, nor in the division of the cattle. Mr. S. Davis, has made examination, at my request, and finds no mention of him in the records. May he not be considered as more particularly *J. Pierce's* agent or representative, and not intimately concerned in the main objects of the pilgrims? If so he probably left the place, on their breach with *Pierce*, upon the discovery of his selfish views.

though it fared with them, as it is common to the most actions of this nature, that the first attempts prove difficult, as the sequel more at large expresseth, yet it hath pleased God, even beyond our expectation in so short a time, to give hope of letting some of them see (though some he hath taken out of this vale of tears) some grounds of hope, of the accomplishment of both those ends by them, at first propounded.

And as myself then much desired, and shortly hope to effect, if the Lord will, the putting to of my shoulder in this hopeful business, and in the mean time, these relations coming to my hand from my both known and faithful friends, on whose writings I do much rely, I thought it not amiss to make them more general, hoping of a cheerful proceeding, both of adventurers and planters, entreating that the example of the honourable Virginia and Bermudas companies, encountering with so many disasters, and that for divers years together, with an unwearied resolution, the good effects whereof are now eminent, may prevail as a spur of preparation also touching this no less hopeful country though yet an infant, the extent and commodities whereof are as yet not fully known, after time will unfold more: such as desire to take knowledge of things, may inform themselves by this ensuing treatise, and if they please also by such as have been there a first and second time, my hearty prayer to God is that the event of this and all other honourable and honest undertakings, may be for the furtherance of the kingdom of Christ, the enlarging of the bounds of our sovereign lord king James, and the good and profit of those, who either by purse, or person, or both, are agents in the same, so I take leave and rest

Thy friend,

G. MOURT.*

* I find no trace of *G. Mourt* in the history of the plantation. He was probably one of the *merchant adventurers* (as they were called) in England.

Certain useful advertisements sent in a letter written by a discreet friend unto the planters in New England, at their first setting sail from Southhampton, who earnestly desireth the prosperity of that their new Plantation.

LOVING and christian friends, I do heartily and in the Lord salute you all, as being they with whom I am present in my best affection, and most earnest longings after you, though I be constrained for a while to be bodily absent from you; I say constrained, God knowing how willingly and much rather than otherwise I would have borne my part with you in this first brunt, were I not by strong necessity held back for the present. Make account of me in the mean while, as of a man divided in myself with great pain, and as (natural bond set aside) having my better part with you. And though I doubt not but in your godly wisdoms you both foresee and resolve upon that which concerneth your present state and condition both severally and jointly, yet have I thought but my duty to add some further spur of provocation unto them who run already, if not because you need it, yet because I owe it in love and duty.

And first, as we are daily to renew our repentance with our God, special for our sins known, and general for our unknown trespasses; so doth the Lord call us in a singular manner upon occasions of such difficulty and danger as lieth upon you, to a both more narrow search and careful reformation of our ways in his sight, lest he calling to remembrance our sins forgotten by us or unrepented of, take advantage against us, and in judgment leave us for the same to be swallowed up in one danger or other; whereas on the contrary, sin being taken away by earnest repentance and the pardon thereof from the Lord, sealed up unto a man's conscience by his Spirit, great shall be his security and peace in all dangers, sweet his comforts in all distresses, with happy deliverance from all evil, whether in life or in death.

Now next after this heavenly peace with God and our

own consciences, we are carefully to provide for peace with all men what in us lieth, especially with our associates, and for that end watchfulness must be had, that we neither at all in ourselves do give, no nor easily take offence being given by others. Wo be unto the world for offences, for though it be necessary (considering the malice of satan and man's corruption) that offences come, yet wo unto the man or woman either by whom the offence cometh, saith Christ, Math. 18. 7. And if offences in the unseasonable use of things in themselves indifferent, be more to be feared than death itself, as the Apostle teacheth, 1 Cor. 9. 15, how much more in things simply evil, in which neither honour of God nor love of man is thought worthy to be regarded.

Neither yet is it sufficient that we keep ourselves by the grace of God from giving offence, except withal we be armed against the taking of them when they are given by others. For how unperfect and lame is the work of grace in that person, who wants charity to cover a multitude of offences, as the scriptures speak. Neither are you to be exhorted to this grace only upon the common grounds of Christianity, which are, that persons ready to take offence, either want charity to cover offences, or wisdom duly to weigh human frailty; or lastly are gross though close hypocrites, as Christ our Lord teacheth, Math. 7. 1, 2, 3, as indeed in mine own experience, few or none have been found which sooner give offence, than such as easily take it; neither have they ever proved sound and profitable members in societies, which have nourished in themselves that touchy humour. But besides these, there are divers special motives provoking you above others to great care and conscience this way: As first, you are many of you strangers, as to the persons, so to the infirmities one of another, and so stand in need of more watchfulness this way, lest when such things fall out in men and women as you suspected not, you be inordinately affected with them; which doth require at your hands much wisdom and charity for the covering and preventing of incident offences that way. And lastly your intended course of civil community

will minister continual occasion of offence, and will be as fuel for that fire, except you diligently quench it with brotherly forbearance. And if taking of offence causelessly or easily at men's doings be so carefully to be avoided, how much more heed is to be taken that we take not offence at God himself, which yet we certainly do so oft as we do murmur at his providence in our crosses, or bear impatiently such afflictions as wherewith he pleaseth to visit us. Store we up therefore patience against the evil day, without which we take offence at the Lord himself in his holy and just works.

A fourth thing there is carefully to be provided for, to wit, that with your common employments you join common affections truly bent upon the general good, avoiding as a deadly plague of your both common and special comfort all retiredness of mind for proper advantage, and all singularly affected any manner of way; let every man repress himself and the whole body in each person, as so many rebels against the common good, all private respects of men's selves, not sorting with the general conveniency. And as men are careful not to have a new house shaken with any violence before it be well settled and the parts firmly knit: so be you, I beseech you brethren, much more careful, that the house of God which you are and are to be, be not shaken with unnecessary novelties or other oppositions at the first settling thereof.

Lastly, whereas you are to become a body politick, using amongst yourselves civil government, and are not furnished with any persons of special eminence above the rest, to be chosen by you into office of government: let your wisdom and godliness appear, not only in choosing such persons as do entirely love, and will diligently promote the common good, but also in yielding unto them all due honour and obedience in their lawful administrations; not beholding in them the ordinariness of their persons, but God's ordinance for your good; nor being like unto the foolish multitude, who more honour the gay coat, than either the virtuous mind of the man, or glorious ordinance of the Lord. But you know better

things, and that the image of the Lord's power and authority, which the magistrate beareth, is honourable, in how mean persons soever. And this duty you both may be more willingly, and ought the more conscionably to perform, because you are at least for the present to have only them for your ordinary governours, which yourselves shall make choice of for that work.

Sundry other things of importance I could put you in mind of, and of those before mentioned in more words, but I will not so far wrong your godly minds, as to think you heedless of these things, there being also divers among you so well able to admonish both themselves and others of what concerneth them. These few things therefore and the same in few words I do earnestly commend unto your care and conscience, joining therewith my daily incessant prayers unto the Lord, that he who hath made the heavens and the earth, the sea and all rivers of waters, and whose providence is over all his works, especially over all his dear children for good, would so guide and guard you in your ways, as inwardly by his Spirit so outwardly by the hand of his power, as that both you and we also, for and with you, may have after matter of praising his name all the days of your and our lives. Fare you well in him in whom you trust, and in whom I rest

An unfained well willer of your happy success in this hopeful voyage,
I. R.*

*JOHN ROBINSON. This letter was written July, 1620. It is published in the New England's Memorial, and in Neal's History of New England, and is inserted, with some variations, in the records of Plymouth First Church.

A Relation or Journal of the proceedings of the Plantation settled at Plimoth, in New England. Abridged in 8 Mass. Hist. Coll. p. 203.

[DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE ORIGINAL PUBLICATION AND THE ABRIDGMENT.]

Note. The paragraphs are not numbered in the original; the numbers in the Hist. Coll. will be used here only for references.]

From No. 1. to No. 6. inclusive, is correctly transcribed (except the spelling which is modernized.)

Nos. 7. to 12. inclusive, form in the original but one paragraph; No. 9. is divided from No. 10. only by a semicolon (;).

No. 12. wants at the end what here follows :

to make them large satisfaction. "This was our first discovery, whilst our shallop was in repairing: our people did make things as fitting as they could, and time would, in seeking out wood, and helving of tools, and sawing of timber, to build a new shallop; but the discommodiousness of the harbour did much hinder us; for we could neither go to, nor come from the shore, but at high water, which was much to our hinderance and hurt; for oftentimes they waded to the middle of the thigh, and oft to the knees, to go and come from land; some did it necessarily, and some for their own pleasure; but it brought to the most, if not to all, coughs and colds, the weather proving suddenly cold and stormy, which afterwards turned to the scurvy, whereof many died."

Nos. 13. 14. and 15. make but one paragraph.

At the end of No. 14. what follows is to be added :*

for we had eaten little all that day; "our resolution was next morning to go up to the head of this river, for we supposed it would prove fresh water: but in the morning our resolution held not, because many liked not the hilliness of the soil and badness of the harbour; so we turned the other creek, that we might go over and

* Note, p. 214. Collections, 1. 9. for "three geese" write "three fat geese."

look for the rest of the corn that we left behind when we were here before. When we came to the creek, we saw the canoe lie on the dry ground, and a flock of geese in the river, at which one made a shot, and killed a couple of them, and we launched the canoe and fetched them, and when we had done, she carried us over by seven or eight at once. This done, *we marched to the place where we had the corn formerly*, [Continue No. 15. to the end, and begin a new paragraph with what follows :]

“The next morning we followed certain beaten paths and tracks of the Indians into the woods, supposing they would have led us into some town or houses ; after we had gone a while, we light upon a very broad beaten path, well nigh two foot broad ; then we lighted all our matches, and prepared ourselves, concluding we were near their dwellings : but in the end, we found it to be a path made to drive deer in, when the Indians hunt, as we supposed ; *when we had marched five or six miles in the woods*, [Continue No. 16. and at the end add as follows :]

nor any thing else but graves. “There was variety of opinions amongst us about the embalmed person ; some thought it was an Indian lord and king : others said, the Indians have all black hair, and never was seen with brown or yellow hair ; some thought it was a christian of some special note, which had died amongst them, and they thus buried him to honour him ; others thought they had killed him, and did it in triumph over him.” *Whilst we were thus ranging and searching*, [Continue No. 17. to the end, and add what follows :]

and left the houses standing still as they were ; “so it growing towards night, and the tide almost spent, we hasted with our things down to the shallop, and got aboard that night ; intending to have brought some beads and other things, to have left the houses, in sign of peace, and that we meant to truck with them, but it was not done, by means of our hasty coming away from Cape Cod ; but so soon as we can meet conveniently with them, we will give them full satisfaction. Thus much of our second discovery.

Having thus discovered this place, it was controversial amongst us, what to do, touching our abode and settling there; some thought it best, for many reasons to abide there;

As first, that there was a convenient harbour for boats, though not for ships.

Secondly, good corn ground ready to our hands, as we saw by experience in the goodly corn it yielded, which would again agree with the ground, and be natural seed for the same.

Thirdly, Cape Cod was like to be a place of good fishing; for we saw daily great whales of the best kind for oil and bone, come close aboard our ship, and in fair weather swim and play about us; there was once one, when the sun shone warm, came and lay above water, as if she had been dead, for a good while together, within half a musket shot of the ship, at which two were prepared to shoot, to see whether she would stir or no; he that gave fire first, his musket flew in pieces: both stock and barrel; yet thanks be to God neither he, nor any man else, was hurt with it, though many were there about; but when the whale saw her time, she gave a snuff and away.

Fourthly, the place was likely to be healthful, secure and defensible.

But the last and special reason was, that now the heart of winter, and unseasonable weather, was come upon us, so that we could not go upon coasting and discovery, without danger of losing men and boat; upon which would follow the overthrow of all, especially considering what variable winds and sudden storms do there arise. Also cold and wet lodging had so tainted our people (for scarce any of us were free from vehement coughs) as if they should continue long in that state, it would endanger the lives of many, and breed disease and infection amongst us. Again we had yet some beer, butter, flesh and other such victuals left, which would quickly be all gone: and then we should have nothing to comfort us in the great labour and toil we were like to undergo at the first; it was also conceived, whilst we had competent victuals, that the

ship would stay with us, but when that grew low, they would be gone, and let us shift as we could.

Others again, urged greatly the going to Anguam or Angoum, a place twenty leagues off to the northwards, which they had heard to be an excellent harbour for ships; better ground and better fishing. Secondly, for any thing we knew, there might be, hard by us, a far better seat, and it should be a great hinderance to seat where we should remove again. Thirdly, the water was but in ponds, and it was thought there would be none in summer, or very little. Fourthly, the water there must be fetched up a steep hill: but to omit many reasons and replies used hereabouts; it was in the end concluded to make some discovery within the bay, but in no case so far as Angoum: besides, Robert Coppin our pilot, made relation of a great navigable river and good harbour in the other head land of this bay, almost right over against Cape Cod, being a right line, not much above eight leagues distant in which he had been once: and because that one of the wild men, with whom they had some trucking, stole a harping iron from them, they called it Thievish Harbour. And beyond that place they were enjoined not to go; whereupon a company was chosen to go out upon a third discovery: while some were employed in this discovery, it pleased God that Mistress White was brought a bed of a son, which was called Peregrine.

The first day, we, through God's mercy, escaped a great danger by the foolishness of a boy, one of Francis Billington's sons, who in his father's absence, had got gun-powder, and had shot off a piece or two, and made squibs; and there being a fowling piece charged in his father's cabin, shot her off in the cabin, there being a little barrel of powder half full, scattered in and about the cabin, the fire being within four feet of the bed between decks, and many flints and iron things about the cabin, and many people about the fire, and yet, by God's mercy, no harm done.

Wednesday the 6th of December, it was resolved our discoverers should set forth, for the day before was too foul weather, and so they did, though it was well over the day, ere all things could be ready. So ten of our men

were appointed, who were of themselves willing to undertake it, to wit, Captain Standish, Master Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winsloe, John Tilley, Edward Tilley, John Houland, and three of London, Richard Warren, Steéven Hopkins, and Edward Dotte, and two of our seamen, John Alderton and Thomas English of the ship's company, there went two of the master's mates, Master Clarke, and Master Coppin, the master gunner and three sailors. The narration of which discovery follows penned by one of the company.

Paragraph No. 18. is included in the foregoing. Nos. 19. 20. 21. and part of No. 22, form but one paragraph; Nos. 19. and 20. are only divided by a colon (:), and No. 20. is divided from No. 21. by a semicolon (;). In No. 21. line 4. what follows is to be inserted, between the words "coming into it." and "this place." *without either river or creek coming into it*; "yet we deemed it to be as good an harbour as Cape Cod, for they that sounded it, found a ship might ride in five fathom water; we on the land found it to be a level soil, but none of the fruitfulest; we saw two becks of fresh water, which were the first running streams that we saw in the country, but one might stride over them: we found also a great fish called a grampus dead on the sands, they in the shallop found two of them also in the bottom of the bay, dead in like sort; they were cast up at high water, and could not get off, for the frost and ice; they were some five or six paces long, and about two inches thick of fat, and fleshed like a swine; they would have yielded a great deal of oil, if there had been time and means to have taken it; so we finding nothing for our turn, both we and our shallop returned. We then directed our course along the sea sands, to the place where we first saw the Indians; when we were there, we saw it was also a grampus which they were cutting up, they cut it into long rands or pieces, about an ell long, and two handfull broad; we found here and there a piece scattered by the way, as it seemed, for haste:" *This place the most were minded, &c.*

The paragraph continues to the 17th line of No. 22. and ends with the words: "*was ready to assault them;*"

Then come several new paragraphs, which include part of No. 22. and Nos. 23. and 24. and are as follows :

There was a lusty man and no whit less valiant, who was thought to be their captain, stood behind a tree within half a musket shot of us, and there let his arrows fly at us ; he was seen to shoot three arrows, which were all avoided, for he at whom the first arrow was aimed, saw it, and stooped down and it flew over him, the rest were avoided also ; he stood three shots of a musket, at length one took as he said full aim at him, after which he gave an extraordinary cry and away they went all ; we followed them about a quarter of a mile, but we left six to keep our shallop, for we were careful of our business ; then we shouted all together two several times, and shot off a couple of muskets and so returned ; this we did that they might see we were not afraid of them nor discouraged. Thus it pleased God to vanquish our enemies and give us deliverance, by their noise we could not guess that they were less than thirty or forty, though some thought that they were many more yet in the dark of the morning, we could not so well discern them among the trees, as they could see us by our fire side, we took up eighteen of their arrows which we have sent to England by Master Jones, some whereof are headed with brass, others with harts-horn, and others with eagles' claws, many more no doubt were shot, for these we found, were almost covered with leaves : yet by the special providence of God, none of them either hit or hurt us, though many came close by us, and on every side of us, and some coats which hung up in our barricado, were shot through and through. So after we had given God thanks for our deliverance, we took our shallop and went on our journey, and called this place, the First Encounter, from hence we intended to have sailed to the afore-said Thievish Harbour, if we found no convenient harbour by the way, having the wind good we sailed all that day along the coast about fifteen leagues, but saw neither river nor creek to put into, after we had sailed an hour or two, it began to snow and rain, and to be bad weather ; about the midst of the afternoon the wind increased and the seas began to be very rough, and the hinges of the rudder broke,

so that we could steer no longer with it, but two men with much ado were fain to serve with a couple of oars, the seas were grown so great, that we were much troubled and in great danger, and night grew on : anon Master Coppin bade us be of good cheer he saw the harbour, as we drew near, the gale being stiff, and we bearing great sail to get in split our mast in three pieces, and were like to have cast away our shallop, yet by God's mercy recovering ourselves, we had the flood with us, and struck into the harbour.

Now he that thought that had been the place was deceived, it being a place where not any of us had been before, and coming into the harbour, he that was our pilot did bear up north-ward, which if we had continued we had been cast away, yet still the Lord kept us, and we bare up for an island before us, and recovering of that island, being compassed about with many rocks, and dark night growing upon us, it pleased the Divine Providence that we fell upon a place of sandy ground, where our shallop did ride safe and secure all night, and coming upon a strange island kept our watch all night in the rain upon that island : in the morning we marched about it, and found no inhabitants at all, and here we made our rendezvous all that day being Saturday, 10th of December, on the sabbath day we rested, and Monday we sounded the harbour, and found it a very good harbour for our shipping, we marched also into the land, and found divers corn fields, and little running brooks a place very good for situation, so we returned to our ship again with good news to the rest of our people, which did much comfort their hearts.

On the fifteenth day, we weighed anchor, to go to the place we had discovered, and coming within two leagues of the land, we could not fetch the harbour, but were fain to put room again towards Cape Cod, our course lying west ; and the wind was at north-west, but it pleased God that the next day being Saturday the sixteenth day, the wind came fair, and we put to sea again, and came safely into a safe harbour ; and within half an hour the wind changed, so as we had been letted but a little we had gone back to Cape Cod. This harbour is a bay grea-

ter than Cape Cod, compassed with a goodly land, and in the bay two fine islands uninhabited, wherein are nothing but wood, oaks, pines, walnut, beech, sassafras, vines, and other trees which we know not; this bay is a most hopeful place, innumerable store of fowl, and excellent good, and cannot but be of fish in their seasons; skate, cod, turbot, and herring, we have tasted of; crabs and lobsters, in their time infinite. It is in fashion like a sickle or fish-hook.

Monday, the 18th day, we went a land, manned with the master of the ship and three or four of the sailors, we marched along the coast in the woods, some seven or eight miles, but saw not an Indian, [Here copy from the Collections, beginning at the top of p. 221.; then copy to the end of the paragraph *we went aboard again*, and then begin a new paragraph as follows:]

The next morning being Tuesday the 19th of December, we went again to discover further; some went on land, and some in the shallop, the land we found as the former day we did, and we found a creek, and went up three English miles, a very pleasant river at full sea; a bark of thirty tons may go up; but at low water scarce our shallop could pass; this place we had a great liking to plant in, but that it was so far from our fishing our principal profit, and so encompassed with woods, that we should be in much danger of the savages, and our number being so little, and so much ground to clear, so as we thought good to quit and clear that place, till we were of more strength; some of us having a good mind for safety to plant in the greater isle, we crossed the bay which there is five or six miles over, and found the isle about a mile and a half or two miles about, all wooded, and no fresh water but two or three pits, that we doubted of fresh water in summer, and so full of wood, as we could hardly clear so much as to serve us for corn, besides we judged it cold for our corn, and some part very rocky, yet divers thought it as a place defensible and of great security.

That night we returned again a shipboard, with resolution the next morning to settle on some of those places, so in the morning, after we had called on God for

direction, we came to this resolution, to go presently ashore again, and to take a better view of the two places, which we thought most fitting for us, for we could not now take time for further search or consideration, our victuals being much spent, especially, our beer, and it being now the 19th of December. After our landing ———

Now copy from these words which end the first line of No. 25. (Coll. p. 221.) to the end of the paragraph, p. 222. and continue as follows :

and we may see from thence Cape Cod : “our greatest labour will be fetching of our wood, which is half a quarter of an English mile, but there is enough so far off; what people inhabit here we yet know not, for as yet we have seen none, so there we made our rendezvous, and a place for some of our people about twenty, resolving in the morning to come all ashore, and to build houses, but the next morning being Thursday the 21st of December, it was stormy and wet, that we could not go ashore, and those that remained there all night could do nothing, but were wet, not having daylight enough to make them a sufficient court of guard, to keep them dry. All that night it blew and rained extremely, it was so tempestuous, that the shallop could not go on land so soon as was meet, for they had no victuals on land. About 11 o'clock the shallop went off with much ado with provision, but could not return it blew so strong, and was such foul weather, that we were forced to let fall our anchor, and ride with three anchors a head.

Friday the 22d, the storm still continued, that we could not get a land, nor they come to us aboard: this morning good wife Alderton was delivered of a son, but dead born.

Saturday the 23d. So many of us as could, went on shore, felled and carried timber, to provide themselves stuff for building.

Sunday the 24th. Our people on shore heard a cry of some savages (as they thought) which caused an alarm, and to stand on their guard, expecting an assault, but all was quiet.

Monday the 25th day, we went on shore some to fell timber, some to saw, some to rive, and some to carry, so no man rested at all that day, but towards night some as they

were at work, they heard a noise of some Indians, which caused us all to go to our muskets, but we heard no further, so we came aboard again, and left some twenty to keep the court of guard; that night we had a sore storm of wind and rain.

Paragraph No. 26. is included in the foregoing.

Next follows No. 27. to the words *none at all* in the 5th line.

Next comes a new paragraph, as follows :

Tuesday, the 26th, it was foul weather, that we could not go ashore.

Wednesday, the 27th, we went to work again.

Thursday, the 28th of December, so many as could went to work on the hill, where we proposed to build our platform for our ordnance, and which doth command all the plain, and the bay, and from whence we may see far into the sea, and might be easier empaled, having two rows of houses and a fair street. So in the afternoon we went to measure out the grounds, and first, *we took notice how many families they were*, [Continue to copy from this place in paragraph 27. to the end of it.]

Then follows No. 28. to the end of it.

Then two new paragraphs, as follows :

Monday the 1st of January, we went betimes to work, we were much hindered in lying so far off from the land, and fain to go as the tide served, that we lost much, for our ship drew so much water, that she lay a mile and almost a half off, though a ship of seventy or eighty tons at high water may come to shore.

Wednesday the 3d of January, some of our people being abroad, to get and gather thatch, they saw great fires of the Indians, and were at their corn fields, yet saw none of the savages, nor had seen any of them since we came to this bay.

Now copy No. 29. entire, after which come the following paragraphs :

Friday the 5th of January, one of the sailors found alive upon the shore an herring, which the master had for his supper, which put us in hope of fish, but as yet we had got but one cod; we wanted small hooks.

Saturday 6th of January, Master Marten was very sick and to our judgment, no hope of life, so Master Carver was sent for to come abroad to speak with him about his accounts, who came the next morning.

Monday the 8th day of January was a very fair day, and we went betimes to work, Master Jones sent the shallop as he had formerly done, to see where fish could be got, they had a great storm at sea, and were in some danger, at night they returned with three great seals, and an excellent good cod, which did assure us that we should have plenty of fish shortly.

This day, Francis Billington, having the week before seen from the top of a tree on a high hill, a great sea as he thought, went with one of the master mates to see it, they went three miles, and then came to a great water divided into two great lakes, the bigger of them five or six miles in circuit, and in it an isle of a cable length square, the other three miles in compass; in their estimation they are fine fresh water, full of fish and fowl; a brook issues from it, it will be an excellent help for us in time. They found seven or eight Indian houses, but not lately inhabited, when they saw the houses they were in some fear, for they were but two persons and one piece.

Now copy No. 30. to the end; after which a new paragraph begins as follows:

Thursday, the 11th, William Bradford being at work, (for it was a fair day) was vehemently taken with a grief and pain, and so shot to his huckle bone: it was doubted that he would have instantly died, he got cold in the former discoveries, especially the last, and felt some pain in his ancles by times, but he grew a little better towards night, and in time through God's mercy in the use of means recovered.

Friday the 12th we went to work, but about noon it began to rain, that it forced us to give over work.

This day two of our people put us in great sorrow and care, there was four sent to gather and cut thatch in the morning, and two of them, John Goodman and Peter Brown, having cut thatch all the forenoon, went to a further place, and willed the other two, to bind up that which

was cut and to follow them ; so they did, being about a mile and a half from the plantation : but when the two came after, they could not find them, nor hear any thing of them at all, though they hollaed and shouted as loud as they could, so they returned to the company and told them of it : whereupon Master Leaver and three or four more went to seek them, but could hear nothing of them, so they returning, sent more, but that night they could hear nothing at all of them : the next day they armed ten or twelve men out, verily thinking the Indians had surprised them, they went seeking seven or eight miles, but could neither see nor hear any thing at all, so they returned with much discomfort to us all. These two that were missed *at dinner time took their meat in their hands, and* [Now copy from these words in paragraph 31.* line 2. to the end of the paragraph, then continue, without beginning a new one, from the last line thereof as follows:]

was a long while after ere he was able to go ; “those on the shore were much comforted at their return, but they on shipboard were grieved as deeming them lost ; but the next day being the 14th January, in the morning about six of the clock the wind being very great, they on shipboard spied their great new rendezvous on fire, which was to them a new discomfort, fearing because of the supposed loss of the men, that the savages had fired them, neither could they presently go to them for want of water but after three quarters of an hour they went, as they had proposed the day before to keep the sabbath on shore, because now there was the greater number of people. At their landing they heard good tidings of the return of the two men, and that *the house was fired occasionally by a spark that flew* [Here continue from these words in lines 1. and 2. paragraph 32. to the end of the paragraph.]

Paragraph 33. makes two paragraphs in the original. The first ends with the words *were all wet.*

Copy paragraph 34. entire, then write what follows :

Saturday 20th we made up our shed for our common goods.

* Misprinted 34.

Sunday the 21st. We kept our meeting on land.

Monday the 22d was a fair day, we wrought on our houses, and in the afternoon carried up our hogsheads of meal to our common store house.

The rest of the week we followed our business likewise.

Monday the 29th in the morning cold frost and sleet, but after reasonable fair; both the long boat and the shallop brought our common goods on shore.

Tuesday and Wednesday 30th and 31st of January, cold frosty weather and sleet, that we could not work in the morning, the master and others saw two savages, that had been on the island near our ship, what they came for we could not tell, they were going so far back again before they were descried, that we could not speak with them.

Sunday the 4th of February, was very wet and rainy, with the greatest gusts of wind that ever we had since we came forth, that though we rid in a very good harbour, yet we were in danger, because the ship was light, the goods taken out, and she unballasted; and it caused much daubing to our houses to fall down.

Friday the 9th. Still the cold weather continued, that we could do little work. That afternoon our little house for our sick people was set on fire by a spark that kindled in the roof, but no great harm was done. That evening the master going ashore, killed five geese, which he friendly distributed among the sick people; he found also a good deer killed, the savages had cut off the horns, and a wolf was eating of him, how he came there we could not conceive.

Friday the 16th day, was a fair day, but the northerly wind continued, which continued the frost, this day afternoon one of our people being a fowling, and having taken a stand by a creek side in the reeds, about a mile and an half from our plantation, there came by him twelve Indians, marching towards our plantation, and in the woods he heard the noise of many more, he lay close till they were passed, and then with what speed he could he went home and gave the alarm, so the people abroad in the woods returned and armed themselves, but saw none of

them, only towards evening they made a great fire, about the place where they were first discovered : Captain Miles Standish, and Francis Cooke, being at work in the woods, coming home, left their tools behind them, but before they returned, their tools were taken away by the savages. This coming of the savages gave us occasion to keep more strict watch, and to make our pieces and furniture ready, which by the moisture and rain were out of temper.

Saturday the 17th day, in the morning we called a meeting for the establishing of military orders among ourselves, and we chose Miles Standish our captain, and gave him authority of command in affairs ; and as we were in consultation hereabouts two savages presented themselves upon the top of an hill, over against our plantation, about a quarter of a mile and less, and made signs unto us to come unto them, we likewise made signs unto them to come to us, whereupon we armed ourselves, and stood ready, and sent two over the brook towards them, to wit, Captain Standish and Steven Hopkins, who went towards them, only one of them had a musket, which they laid down on the ground in their sight, in sign of peace, and to parley with them, but the savages would not tarry their coming : a noise of a great many more was heard behind the hill, but no more came in sight. This caused us to plant our great ordnances in places most convenient.

Wednesday the 21st of February, the master on shore with many of his sailors and brought with him one of the great pieces called a minion, and helped us to draw it up the hill, with another piece that lay on shore, and mounted them, and a saller and two bases ; he brought with him a very fat goose to eat with us, and we had a fat crane, and a mallard, and a dried neats-tongue, and so we were kindly and friendly together.

Saturday the 3d of March, the wind was south, the morning misty, but towards noon warm and fair weather ; the birds sang in the woods most pleasantly, at one of the clock it thundered, which was the first we heard in that country, it was strong and great claps, but short, but after an hour it rained very sadly till midnight.

Wednesday, the 7th of March, the wind was full east, cold, but fair, that day Master Carver with five other went to the great ponds, which seem to be excellent fishing places; all the way they went they found it exceedingly beaten and haunted with deer, but they saw none; amongst other fowl, they saw one a milk white fowl, with a very black head; this day some garden seeds were sown.

Friday the 16th a fair warm day towards;* this morning we determined to conclude of the military orders, which we had began to consider of before, but were interrupted by the savages, as we mentioned formerly; and whilst we were busied hereabout, we were interrupted again, for *there presented himself a savage, which caused an alarm*, [Here copy from these words in paragraph 37. (35. and 36. being included in the foregoing) to the end of paragraph 40., observing that 37. and 38. make but one paragraph, divided by a semicolon, (;) thus: "and watched him; the next day he went away back to the" &c.]

After paragraph 40. begin a new paragraph, and copy as follows:

The sabbath day when we sent them from us, we gave every of them some trifles, especially, the principal of them, we carried them along with our arms to the place where they left their bows and arrows, whereat they were amazed, and two of them began to slink away, but that the other called them, when they took their arrows, we bade them farewell, and they were glad, and so with many thanks given us they departed and promise they would come again.

Monday and Tuesday proved fair days, we digged our grounds, and sowed our garden seeds.

Wednesday a fine warm day, we sent away Samoset.

That day we had again a meeting, to conclude of laws and orders for ourselves, and to confirm those military orders that were formerly propounded, and twice broken off by the savages coming, but so we were again the third time, for after we had been an hour together, on the top

* *A fair warm day towards*; it is so in the original; perhaps the punctuation is wrong.

of the hill over against us two or three savages presented themselves, that made semblance of daring us, as we thought, so Captain Standish with another, with their muskets went over to them, with two of the master's mates that follows them without arms, having two muskets with them, they whetted and rubbed their arrows and strings, and made shew of defiance, but when our men drew near them they ran away. Thus we were again interrupted by them; this day with much ado we got our carpenter that had been long sick of the scurvy, to fit our shallop, to fetch all from aboard.

Now copy paragraphs 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47., observing that 41. and 42. make but one paragraph; so do 43. 44. and 45.

Here ends the main Journal; it is followed by the Journey to Packanokik, thus entitled:

A Journey to Packanokik, the habitation of the great King Massasoyt. As also our message, the answer, and entertainment we had of him.

Now copy paragraph 48. (Coll. p. 232.) to the end of it, and at the end add what follows:

might be acceptable amongst them. The message was as followeth; that forasmuch as his subjects came often and without fear, upon all occasions amongst us, so we were now come unto him, and in witness of the love and good will the English bare unto him, the governour hath sent him a coat, desiring that the peace and amity that was between them and us might be continued, not that we feared them, but because we intended not to injure any, desiring to live peaceably: and as with all men, so especially with them our nearest neighbours. But whereas his people came very often, and very many together unto us, bringing for the most part their wives and children with them, they were welcome; yet we being but strangers as yet at Patuxet, alias New Plimmoth, and not knowing how our corn might prosper, we could no longer give them such entertainment as we had

done, and as we desired still to do; yet if he would be pleased to come himself, or any special friend of his desired to see us, coming from him they should be welcome; and to the end we might know them from others our governour had sent him a copper chain, desiring if any messenger should come from him to us, we might know him by bringing it with him, and hearken and give credit to his message accordingly. Also requesting him that such as have skins, should bring them to us, and that he would hinder the multitude from oppressing us with them. And whereas at our first arrival at Paomet (called by us Cape Cod) we found there corn buried in the ground, and finding no inhabitants but some graves of dead new buried, took the corn, resolving if ever we could hear of any that had right thereunto, to make satisfaction to the full for it, yet since we understand the owners thereof were fled for fear of us, our desire was either to pay them with the like quantity of corn, English meal, or any other commodities we had to pleasure them withal; requesting him that some one of his men might signify so much unto them, and we would content him for his pains. And last of all, our governour requested one favour of him, which was, that he would exchange some of their corn for seed with us, that we might try all which best agreed with the soil where we live.

With these presents and message *we set forward the tenth* [Now continue paragraph 49. from these words at the beginning thereof, and also paragraph 50. which makes but one with 49. At the end of 50. add what follows:]

Upon this river dwelleth Massasoyt: it cometh into the sea at Narrohiganset Bay, where the Frenchmen so much use. A ship may go many miles up it, as the savages report, and a shallop to the head of it: but so far as we saw, we are sure a shallop may.

But to return to our journey: *The next morning we brake* [Here copy paragraph 51. from these words at the beginning to the end of it.]

Next copy paragraph 52. to the end of it.

Next copy paragraph 53. and at the end of it add what follows:

exceeding great chesnut trees. The country in respect of the lying of it, is both champaign and hilly, like many places in England. In some places it is very rocky both above ground and in it: and though the country be wild and overgrown with woods, yet the trees stand not thick, but a man may well ride a horse amongst them.

Passing on at length, one of the company an Indian espied a man, and told the rest of it, we asked them if they feared any, they told us that if they were Narrohigganset men they would not trust them, whereat, we called for our pieces and bid them not to fear; for though they were twenty, we two alone would not care for them: but they hailing him he proved a friend, and had only two women with him: their baskets were empty, but they fetched water in their bottles, so that we drank with them and departed. After we met another man with other two women which had been at rendezvous by the salt water, and their baskets were full of roasted crab fishes, and other dried shell fish, of which they gave us, and we eat and drank with them: and gave each of the women a string of beads, and departed.

Now copy paragraphs 54. 55. 56. and 57. under the following observations:

Paragraph 54. line 10. after the word "interpreter," a new paragraph, and line 17. after the word "attired," also a new paragraph.

Paragraph 55. line 1. of page 236. after the words "unto us," a new paragraph.

Paragraphs 56. and 57 make but one paragraph. At the end of 57. add what here follows; beginning a new paragraph:

At this town of Massasoyts, where we before eat, we were again refreshed with a little fish; and bought about a handful of meal of their parched corn, which was very precious at that time of the year, and a small string of dried shell fish, as big as oysters. The latter we gave to the six savages that accompanied us, keeping the meal for ourselves, when we drank we eat each a spoonful of it with a pipe of tobacco, instead of other victuals; and of this also we could not but give them so long as it last-

ed. Five miles they led us to a house out of the way in hope of victuals : but we found no body there, and so we were but worse able to return home. That night we reached to the wear where we lay before, but the Namascheucks were returned : so that we had no hope of any thing there. One of the savages had shot a shad in the water, and a small squirrel as big as a rat, called a neuxis, the one half of either he gave us, and after went to the wear to fish. From hence he wrote to Plimouth, and sent Tokamahamon before to Namasket, willing him from thence to send another, that we might meet us with food at Namasket. Two men now only remained with us, and it pleased God to give them good store of fish, so that we were well refreshed. After supper we went to rest, and they to fishing again : more they gat and fell to eating afresh, and retained sufficient ready roast for all our breakfasts. About two o'clock in the morning arose a great storm of wind, rain, lightning and thunder, in such violent manner, that we could not keep in our fire ; and had the savages not roasted fish when we were asleep, we had set forward fasting : for the rain still continued with great violence, even the whole day through, till we came within two miles of home.

Being wet and weary, at length we came to Namaschet, there we refreshed ourselves, giving gifts to all such as had shewed us any kindness. Amongst others one of the six that came with us from Packanokik, having before this on the way unkindly forsaken us, marvelled we gave him nothing, and told us what he had done for us ; we also told him of some discourtesies he offered us, whereby he deserved nothing, yet we gave him a small trifle : whereupon he offered us tobacco : but the house being full of people, we told them he stole some by the way, and if it were of that we would not take it : for we would not receive that which was stolen upon any terms ; if we did our God would be angry with us, and destroy us. This abashed him, and gave the rest great content : but at our departure he would needs carry him on his back through a river, whom he had formerly in some sort abused. Fain they would have had us to lodge there all night : and

wondered we would set forth again in such weather : but God be praised, we came safe home that night, though wet, weary and surbated.

A Voyage made by ten of our men to the Kingdom of Nauset, to seek a boy that had lost himself in the woods ; with such accidents that befell us in that voyage.

UNDER this title copy paragraphs 58. and 59.

Then comes paragraph 60. to be copied entire, with the following addition in the 7th line :

sachim of Nauset wherefore we came. The savages here came very thick amongst us, and were earnest with us to bring in our boat. But we neither well could, nor yet desired to do it, because we had less cause to trust them, being they only had formerly made an assault upon us in the same place, in time of our winter discovery for habitation. And indeed it was no marvel they did so, for howsoever through snow or otherwise we saw no houses, yet we were in the midst of them.

When our boat was aground they came very thick, but we stood therein upon our guard, not suffering any to enter except two : the one being of Maramoick, and one of those, whose corn we had formerly found, we promised him restitution, and desired him either to come to Patuxet for satisfaction, or else we would bring them so much corn again, he promised to come, we used him very kindly for the present. Some few skins we gat there but not many. *After sun-set, &c.* to the end of paragraph 60.

Now copy paragraph 61. ending with the words *upon one of us*, in the last line but one ; then the following paragraphs :

Again we set out but to small purpose : for we gat but little homeward. Our water also was very brackish, and not to be drank.

The next morning, Iyanough espied us again and ran after us ; we being resolved to go to Cummaquid again to

water, took him into the shallop, whose entertainment was not inferiour unto the former.

The soil at Nauset and here is alike, even and sandy, not so good for corn as where we are ; ships may safely ride in either harbour : in the summer, they abound with fish. Being now watered, we put forth again, and by God's providence, came safely home that night.

A Journey to the Kingdom of Namaschet in defence of the great King Massasoyt against the Narrohiggansets, and to revenge the supposed death of our Interpreter Tisquantum.

AT our return from Nauset, we found it true, that Massasoyt was put from his country by the Narrohiggansets. Word also was brought unto us, that one Coubatant a petty sachim or governour under Massasoyt (whom they ever feared to be too conversant with the Narrohiggansets) was at Namaschet, who sought to draw the hearts of Massasoyt's subjects from him, speaking also disdainfully of us, storming at the peace between Nauset, Cummaquid and us, and at Tisquantum the worker of it ; also at Tokamahamon, and one Hobbamock (two Indians or Lemes, one of which he would treacherously have murdered a little before, being a special and trusty man of Massasoyt's) Tokamahamon went to him, but the other two would not : yet put their lives in their hands, privately went to see if they could hear of their king, and lodging at Namaschet were discovered to Coubatant, who set a guard to beset the house and took Tisquantum (for he had said, if he were dead, the English had lost their tongue) Hobbamock seeing that Tisquantum was taken, and Coubatant held a knife at his breast, being a strong and stout man, brake from them and came to New Plim-mouth, full of fear and sorrow for Tisquantum, whom he thought to be slain.

Upon this news the company assembled together, and resolved on the morrow to send ten men armed to Namaschet and Hobbamock, for their guide, to revenge the

supposed death of Tisquantum on Coubatant our bitter enemy, and to retain Nepeof, another sachim or governor, who was of this confederacy, till we heard, what was become of our friend Massasoyt.

On the morrow we set out ten men armed, who took their journey as aforesaid, but the day proved very wet. When we supposed we were within three or four miles of Namaschet, we went out of the way and staid there till night, because we would not be discovered. There we consulted what to do, and thinking best to beset the house at midnight, each was appointed his task by the captain, all men encouraging one another to the utmost of their power.

By night our guide lost his way, which much discouraged our men, being we were wet, and weary of our arms: but one of our men having been before at Namaschet brought us into the way again.

Before we came to the town we sat down and eat such as our knapsack afforded, that being done, we threw them aside, and all such things as might hinder us, and so went on and beset the house, according to our last resolution. Those that entered, demanded if Coubatant were not there; but fear had bereft the savages of speech. We charge them not to stir, for if Coubatant were not there, we would not meddle with them, if he were, we came principally for him, to be avenged on him for the supposed death of Tisquantum, and other matters: but howsoever we would not at all hurt their women or children. Notwithstanding some of them pressed out at a private door and escaped, but with some wounds: at length perceiving our principal ends, they told us Coubatant was returned with all his train, and that Tisquantum was yet living, and in the town offering some tobacco, other such as they had to eat. In this hurley hurley we discharged two pieces at random, which much terrified all the inhabitants, except Tisquantum and Tokamahamon, who though they knew not our end in coming, yet assured them of our honesty, that we would not hurt them. Those boys that were in the house seeing our care of women, often cried Neensquaes, that is to say, I am a wo-

man : the women also hanging upon Hobbamock, calling him Towam, that is, Friend. But to be short, we kept them we had, and made them make a fire that we might see to search the house, in the mean time, Hobbamock gat on the top of the house, and called Tisquantum and Tokamahamon, which came unto us accompanied with others, some armed and others naked. Those that had bows and arrows we took them away, promising them again when it was day. The house was took for our better safeguard : but released those we had taken, manifesting whom we came for and wherefore.

On the next morning we marched into the midst of the town, and went to the house of Tisquantum to breakfast. Thither came all whose hearts were upright towards us, but all Coubatant's faction were fled away. There in the midst of them we manifested again our intendment, assuring them, that although Coubatant had now escaped us, yet there was no place should secure him and his from us if he continued his threatening us, and provoking others against us, who had kindly entertained him, and never intended evil towards him till he now so justly deserved it. Moreover, if Massasoyt did not return in safety from Narrohigganset, or if hereafter he should make any insurrection against him, or offer violence to Tisquantum, Hobbamock, or any of Massasoyt's subjects, we would revenge it upon him, to the overthrow of him and his. As for those were wounded, we were sorry for it, though themselves procured it in not staying in the house at our command : yet if they would return home with us, our surgeon should heal them.

At this offer, one man and a woman that were wounded went home with us, Tisquantum and many other known friends accompanying us, and offering all help that might be by carriage of any thing we had to ease us. So that by God's good providence we safely returned home the morrow night after we set forth.

(***)

A.†

† Perhaps *Isaac Allerton* (or *Alderton*) is intended by this signature. From his known energy and activity, he may be presumed to be one of the men accompanying *Standish* on this expedition. In one of the early interviews with

A Relation of our Voyage to the Massachusetts, and what happened there.

It seemed good to the company in general, that though the Massachusetts had often threatened us (as we were informed) yet we should go amongst them, partly to see the country, partly to make peace with them, and partly to procure their truck.

For these ends the governours chose ten men, fit for the purpose, and sent Tisquantum, and two other savages to bring us to speech with the people, and interpret for us.

We set out about midnight, the tide then serving for us ; we supposing it to be nearer than it is, thought to be there the next morning betimes : but it proved well near twenty leagues from New Plimmouth.

We came into the bottom of the bay, but being late we anchored and lay in the shallop, not having seen any of the people. The next morning we put in for the shore. There we found many lobsters that had been gathered together by the savages, which we made ready under a cliff. The captain set two sentinels behind the cliff to the landward to secure the shallop, and taking a guide with him, and four of our company, went to seek the inhabitants, where they met a woman coming for her lobsters, they told her of them, and contented her for them. She told them where the people were ; Tisquantum went to them, the rest returned, having direction which way to bring the shallop to them.

The sachim, or governour of this place, is called Obbatinewat, and though he live in the bottom of the Massachusetts Bay, yet he is under Massasoyt. He used us very kindly, he told us, he durst not then remain in any settled place, for fear of the Tarentines. Also the squaw sachim or Massachusetts queen was an enemy to him.

the Indians, "Captain Standish and Isaac Alderton went venturously" to meet them. [Relation, §. 45.] It appears that this narration was written by one of the party. "On the morrow we set out," &c.

We told him of divers sachims that had acknowledged themselves to be King James his men, and if he also would submit himself, we would be his safeguard from his enemies ; which he did, and went along with us to bring us to the squaw sachim. Again we crossed the bay which is very large, and hath at least fifty islands in it : but the certain number is not known to the inhabitants. Night it was before we came to that side of the bay where this people were, on shore the savages but found no body. That night also we rid at anchor aboard the shallop.

On the morrow we went ashore, all but two men, and marched in arms up in the country. Having gone three miles, we came to a place where corn had been newly gathered, a house pulled down, and the people gone. A mile from hence, Nanepashemet their king in his life time had lived. His house was not like others, but a scaffold was largely built, with poles and planks some six foot from ground, and the house upon that, being situated on the top of a hill.

Not far from hence in a bottom, we came to a fort built by their deceased king, the manner thus ; there were poles some thirty or forty foot long, stuck in the ground as thick as they could be set one by another, and with these they enclosed a ring some forty or fifty foot over. A trench breast high was digged on each side ; one way there was to go into it with a bridge ; in the midst of this palisado stood the frame of an house, wherein being dead he lay buried.

About a mile from hence, we came to such another, but seated on the top of an hill : here Nanepashemet was killed, none dwelling in it since the time of his death. At this place we staid, and sent two savages to look the inhabitants, and to inform them of our ends in coming, that they might not be fearful of us : within a mile of this place they found the women of the place together, with their corn on heaps, whither we supposed them to be fled for fear of us, and the more, because in divers places they had newly pulled down their houses, and for haste in one place had left some of their corn covered with a mat, and no body with it.

With much fear they entertained us at first, but seeing our gentle carriage towards them, they took heart and entertained us in the best manner they could, boiling cod and such other things as they had for us, at length with much sending for came one of their men, shaking and trembling for fear. But when he saw we intended them no hurt, but came to truck, he promised us with his skins also. Of him we inquired for their queen, but it seemed she was far from thence, at least we could not see her.

Here Tisquantum would have had us rifled the savage women, and taken their skins, and all such things as might be serviceable for us; for (said he) they are a bad people, and have oft threatened you: but our answer was; were they never so bad, we would not wrong them, or give them any just occasion against us: for their words we little weighed them, but if they once attempted any thing against us, then we would deal far worse than he desired.

Having well spent the day, we returned to the shallop, almost all the women accompanying us, to truck, who sold their coats from their backs, and tied boughs about them, but with great shamefacedness (for indeed they are more modest than some of our English women are) we promised them to come again to them, and they us, to keep their skins.

Within this bay, the savages say, there are two rivers; the one whereof we saw, having a fair entrance, but we had no time to discover it. Better harbours for shipping cannot be than here are. At the entrance of the bay are many rocks: and in all likelihood very good fishing ground. Many, yea, most of the islands have been inhabited, some being cleared from end to end, but the people are all dead or removed.

Our victual growing scarce, the wind coming fair, and having a light moon, we set out at evening, and through the goodness of God, came safely home before noon the day following.

A Letter sent from New England to a friend in these parts, setting forth a brief and true Declaration of the worth of that Plantation; as also certain useful Directions for such as intend a voyage into those parts.

LOVING, and old friend, although I received no letter from you by this ship, yet forasmuch as I know you expect the performance of my promise, which was, to write unto you truly and faithfully on all things. I have therefore at this time sent unto you accordingly. Referring you for further satisfaction to our more large relations. You shall understand, that in this little time, that a few of us have been here, we have built seven dwelling houses, and four for the use of the plantation, and have made preparation for divers others. We set the last spring some twenty acres of Indian corn, and sowed some six acres of barley and peas, and according to the manner of Indians, we manured our ground with herrings or rather shads, which we have in great abundance, and take with great ease at our doors. Our corn did prove well, and God be praised, we had a good increase of Indian corn, and our barley indifferent good, but our peas not worth the gathering, for we feared they were too late sown, they came up very well and blossomed, but the sun parched them in the blossom; our harvest being gotten in, our governour sent four men on fowling, that so we might after a more special manner rejoice together, after we had gathered the fruit of our labours; they four in one day killed as much fowl, as with a little help beside, served the company almost a week, at which time amongst other recreations, we exercised our arms, many of the Indians coming amongst us, and amongst the rest their greatest king Massasoyt, with some ninety men, whom for three days we entertained and feasted, and they went out and killed five deer, which they brought to the plantation and bestowed on our governour, and upon the captain and others. And although it be not always so plentiful, as it was at this time with us, yet by the goodness of God, we are so far from want, that we often wish you partakers of our plenty. We have found the Indians very faithful in their covenant of peace with us; very loving and ready to pleasure us; we often

go to them, and they come to us : some of us have been fifty miles by land in the country with them : the occasions and relations whereof, you shall understand by our general and more full declaration of such things as are worth the noting, yea, it hath pleased God so to possess the Indians with a fear of us, and love unto us, that not only the greatest king amongst them called Massasoyt, but also all the princes and peoples round about us, have either made suit unto us, or been glad of any occasion to make peace with us, so that seven of them at once have sent their messengers to us to that end, yea, an isle at sea, which we never saw hath also together with the former yielded willingly to be under the protection, and subjects to our sovereign lord King James, so that there is now great peace amongst the Indians themselves, which was not formerly neither would have been but for us ; and we for our parts walk as peaceably and safely in the wood, as in the highways in England, we entertain them familiarly in our houses, and they as friendly bestowing their venison on us. They are people without any religion, or knowledge of any God, yet very trusty, quick of apprehension, ripe witted, just, the men and women go naked, only a skin about their middles ; for the temper of the air, here it agreeth well with that in England, and if there be any difference at all, this is somewhat hotter in summer, some think it to be colder in winter, but I cannot out of experience so say ; the air is very clear and not foggy, as hath been reported, I never in my life remember a more seasonable year, than we have here enjoyed : and if we have once but kine, horses, and sheep, I make no question, but men might live as contented here, as in any part of the world. For fish and fowl, we have a great abundance, fresh cod in the summer is but coarse meat with us, our bay is full of lobsters all the summer, and affordeth variety of other fish ; in September we can take hogshead of eels in a night, with small labour, and can dig them out of their beds all the winter, we have muscles and *othus at our doors : oysters we have none near, but we can have them brought by

*The meaning of the word *othus* we leave to conjecture. The accuracy of the copy furnished by Mr. Du Ponceau cannot be doubted. Perhaps *clams* were intended.

the Indians when we will ; all the spring time the earth sendeth forth naturally very good salad herbs : here are grapes, white and red, and very sweet and strong also. Strawberries, gooseberries, raspberries, &c. plums of three sorts, *with black and red, being almost as good as a damson : abundance of roses, white, red, and damask : single, but very sweet indeed ; the country wanteth only industrious men to employ, for it would grieve your hearts (if as I) you had seen so many miles together by goodly rivers uninhabited, and withal to consider those parts of the world wherein you live, to be even greatly burthened with abundance of people. These things I thought good to let you understand, being the truth of things as near as I could experimentally take knowledge of, and that you might on our behalf give God thanks who hath dealt so favourably with us.

Our supply of men from you came the ninth of November 1621 putting in at Cape Cod, some eight or ten leagues from us, the Indians that dwell thereabout were they who were owners of the corn which we found in caves, for which we have given them full content, and are in great league with them, they sent us word there was a ship near unto them, but thought it to be a Frenchman, and indeed for ourselves, we expected not a friend so soon. But when we perceived that she made for our bay, the governour commanded a great piece to be shot off, to call home such as were abroad at work ; whereupon every man, yea, boy that could handle a gun were ready, with full resolution, that if she were an enemy, we would stand in our just defence, not fearing them, but God provided better for us than we supposed ; these came all in health unto us, not any being sick by the way (otherwise than by sea-sickness) and so continue at this time, by the blessing of God the good wife Ford was delivered of a son the first night she landed, and both of them are very well. When it pleaseth God we are settled and fitted for the fishing business, and other trading, I doubt not but by the blessing of God, the gain will give content to all ; in the mean time, that we have gotten we have sent by this ship, and though it be not much,

* Probably misprinted for *white*. Ed.

yet it will witness for us, that we have not been idle, considering the smallness of our number all this summer. We hope the merchants will accept of it, and be encouraged to furnish us with thing needful for further employment, which will also encourage us to put forth ourselves to the uttermost. Now because I expect your coming unto us with other of our friends, whose company we much desire, I thought good to advertise you of a few things needful; be careful to have a very good bread room to put your biscuits in, let your cask for beer and water be iron-bound for the first tire if not more; let not your meat be dry salted, none can better do it than the sailors; let your meal be so hard trod in your cask that you shall need an adze or hatchet to work it out with: trust not too much on us for corn at this time, for by reason of this last company that came depending wholly upon us, we shall have little enough to harvest; be careful to come by some of your meal to spare by the way, it will much refresh you, build your cabins open as you can and bring good store of clothes, and *being with you; bring every man a musket or fowling piece, let your piece be long in the barrel, and fear not the weight of it, for most of our shooting is from stands; bring juice of lemons, and take it fasting, it is of good use; for hot waters, aniseed water is the best, but use it sparingly: if you bring any thing for comfort in the country, butter or salad oil, or both is very good; our Indian corn even the coarsest, maketh as pleasant meat as rice, therefore spare that unless to spend by the way; bring paper, and linseed oil for your windows, with cotton yarn for your lamps, let your shot be most for big fowls, and bring store of powder and shot; I forbear further to write for the present, hoping to see you by the next return, so I take my leave, commending you to the Lord for a safe conduct unto us, resting in him

Your loving friend

E. W.†

*Plimmouth in New England this
11th of December, 1621.*

* Perhaps *bedding* is meant. Ed.

† *Edward Winslow.*

Reasons and Considerations touching the lawfulness of removing out of England into the parts of America.

The Preamble.

FORASMUCH as many exceptions are daily made against the going into, and inhabiting of foreign desert places, to the hinderance of plantations abroad, and the increase of distractions at home: it is not amiss that some which have been ear witnesses of the exceptions made, and are either agents or abettors of such removals and plantations, do seek to give content to the world, in all things that possibly they can.

And although the most of the opposites are such as either dream of raising their fortunes here, to that than which there is nothing more unlike, or such as affecting their home-born country so vehemently, as that they had rather with all their friends beg, yea starve in it, than undergo a little, difficulty in seeking abroad: yet are there some who out of doubt in tenderness of conscience, and fear to offend God by running before they be called, are straitened and do straiten others, from going to foreign plantations.

For whose cause especially, I have been drawn out of my good affection to them, to publish some reasons that might give them content and satisfaction, and also stay and stop the wilful and witty caviller: and herein I trust I shall not be blamed of any godly wise, though through my slender judgment I should miss the mark, and not strike the nail on the head, considering it is the first attempt that hath been made (that I know of) to defend those enterprises. Reason would therefore, that if any man of deeper reach and better judgment see further or otherwise, that he rather instruct me than deride me.

And being studious for brevity, we must first consider, that whereas God of old did call and summon our fathers by predictions, dreams, visions, and certain illuminations to go from their countries, places and habitations to reside and dwell here or there, and to wander up and down from city to city, and land to land, according to his will and pleasure. Now there is no such calling to be expected for any matter whatsoever, neither must any so much as imagine that there will now be any such thing. God did once train up his people, but now he doth not, but speaks in another manner, and so we must apply ourselves to God's present dealing, and to his wonted dealing: and as the miracle of giving manna ceased, when the fruits of the land became plenty, so God having such a plentiful storehouse of directions in his holy word, there must not now any extraordinary revelations be expected.

Cautions.
Gen. 12. 1.
29. & 35. 1.

Mat. 2. 19.
Cal. 105. 13.

Heb. 1. 1, 2.

Josh. 5. 12.

But now the ordinary examples and precepts of the scriptures reasonably and rightly understood and applied, must be the voice and word, that must call us, and direct us in every action.

Neither is there any land or possession now, like unto the possession which the Jews had in Canaan, being legally holy and appropriated unto a holy people the seed of Abraham, in which they dwelt securely, and had their days prolonged, it being by an immediate voice said, that he (the Lord) gave it them as a land of rest after their weary travels, and a type of eternal rest in heaven, but now there is no land of that sanctimony, no land so appropriated; none typical; much less any that can be said to be given of God to any nation as was Canaan, which they and their seed must dwell in till God sendeth upon them sword or captivity: but now we are all in all places strangers and pilgrims, travellers and sojourners, most properly, having no

Gen. 17. 8.

2. Cor.
5. 1, 2, 3.

So were the Jews but yet their temporal blessings and inheritances were more large than ours.

dwelling but in this earthen tabernacle ; our dwelling is but a wandering, and our abiding but as a fleeting, and in a word our home is no where, but in the heavens ; in that house not made with hands, whose maker and builder is God, and to which all ascend that love the coming of our Lord Jesus.

Object.

Though then, there may be reasons to persuade a man to live in this or that land, yet there cannot be the same reasons which the Jews had, but now as natural, civil and religious bands tie men, so they must be bound, and as good reasons for things terrene and heavenly appear, so they must be led. And so here falleth in our question, how a man that is here born and bred, and hath lived some years, may remove himself into another country.

Answ. 1.

What person may hence remove.

I answer, a man must not respect only to live, and do good to himself, but he should see where he can live to do most good to others ; for as one saith, *He whose living is but for himself, it is time he were dead.* Some men there are who of necessity must here live, as being tied to duties either to church, commonwealth, household, kindred, &c. but others, and that many, who do no good in none of those nor can do none, as being not able, or not in favour, or as wanting opportunity, and live as outcasts : nobodies, eye sores, eating but for themselves, teaching but themselves, and doing good to none, either in soul or body, and so pass over days, years and months, yea so live and so die. Now such should lift up their eyes and see whether there be not some other place and country to which they may go to do good and have use towards others of that knowledge, wisdom, humanity, reason, strength, skill, faculty, &c. which God hath given for the service of others and his own glory.

2. Why they should remove.

But not to pass the bounds of modesty so far as to name any, though I confess I know many, who sit here still with their talent in a napkin, having notable endowments both of body and mind, and might do great good if they were in some places, which here do none, nor can do none, and yet through fleshly fear, niceness, straitness of heart, &c. sit still and look on, and will not hazard a drachm of health, nor a day of pleasure, nor an hour of rest to further the knowledge and salvation of the sons of Adam in that new world, where a drop of the knowledge of Christ is most precious, which is here not set by. Now what shall we say to such a profession of Christ, to which is joined no more denial of a man's self? But some will say, what right have I to go live in the heathens' country?

Luk. 19. 20.

Reas. 1.

Object.

Letting pass the ancient discoveries, contracts and agreements which our Englishmen have long since made in those parts, together with the acknowledgment of the histories and chronicles of other nations who profess the land of America from the Cape de Florida unto the Bay of Canado (which is south and north three hundred leagues and upwards; and east and west, further than yet hath been discovered) is proper to the king of England, yet letting that pass, lest I be thought to meddle further than it concerns me, or further than I have discerning: I will mention such things as are within my reach, knowledge, sight and practice, since I have travailed in these affairs.

Answ.

And first seeing we daily pray for the conversion of the heathens, we must consider whether there be not some ordinary means, and course for us to take to convert them, or whether prayer for them be only referred to God's extraordinary work from heaven. Now it seemeth unto me that we ought also to endeavour and use the means to convert them or they come

Reas 2.

to us ; to us they cannot come, our land is full, to them we may go, their land is empty.

Reas. 3.

This then is a sufficient reason to prove our going thither to live, lawful : their land is spacious and void and there are few and do but run over the grass, as do also the foxes, and wild beasts : they are not industrious, neither have art, science, skill or faculty to use either the land or the commodities of it, but all spoils, rots, and is marred for want of manuring, gathering, ordering, &c. As the ancient patriarchs therefore removed from straiter places into more roomy, where the land lay idle and waste, and none used it, though there dwelt inhabitants by them, as Gen. 13. 6. 11. 12. and 34. 21. and 41. 20. So is it lawful now to take a land which none useth, and make use of it.

Reas. 4.

It is to be considered as respecting New England and the territories about the plantation.

And as it is common land or unused and undressed country ; so we have it by common consent, composition and agreement, which agreement is double : First the imperial governour Massasoit, whose circuits in likelihood are larger than England and Scotland, hath acknowledged the king majesty of England to be his master and commander, and that once in my hearing, yea and in writing, under his hand to Captain Standish, both he and many other kings which are under him, as Pamet, Nauset, Cummaquid, Narrowbiggonset, Namaschet, &c. with divers others that dwell about the bays of Patuxet, and Massachusetts : neither hath this been accomplished by threats and blows, or shaking of sword, and sound of trumpet, for as our faculty that way is small, and our strength less : so our warring with them is after another manner, namely by friendly usage, love, peace, honest and just carriages, good counsel, &c. that so we and they may not only live in peace in that land, and they yield subjection to an earthly prince, but that as voluntaries they may be persuaded at length

Psal. 110. 3.
& 48. 4.

to embrace the prince of peace Christ Jesus, and rest in peace with him for ever.

Secondly, this composition is also more particular and applicatory, as touching ourselves there inhabiting: the emperor by a joint consent, hath promised and appointed us to live at peace, where we will in all his dominions, taking what place we will, and as much land as we will, and bringing as many people as we will, and that for these two causes. First because we are the servants of James king of England, whose the land (as he confesseth) is, 2. because he hath found us just, honest, kind and peaceable, and so loves our company: yea, and that in these things there is no dissimulation on his part, nor fear of breach (except our security engender in them some unthought of treachery, or our incivilities provoke them to anger) is most plain in other relations, which shew that the things they did were more out of love than out of fear.

It being then first a vast and empty chaos: secondly acknowledged the right of our sovereign king: thirdly, by a peaceable composition in part possessed of divers of his loving subjects, I see not who can doubt or call in question the lawfulness of inhabiting or dwelling there, but that it may be as lawful for such as are not tied upon some special occasion here, to live there as well as here, yea, and as the enterprise is weighty and difficult, so the honour is more worthy, to plant a rude wilderness, to enlarge the honour and fame of our dread sovereign, but chiefly to display the efficacy of power of the gospel both in zealous preaching, professing, and wise walking under it, before the faces of these poor blind infidels.

As for such as object the tediousness of the voyage thither, the danger of pirates' robbery, of the savages' treachery, &c. these are but lions

Prov. 22, 13,

in the way, and it were well for such men if they were in heaven, for who can shew them a place in this world where iniquity shall not compass them at the heels, and where they shall have a day without grief, or a lease of life for a moment; and who can tell but God, what dangers may lie at our doors, even in our native country, or what plots may be abroad, or when God will cause our sun to go down at noon days, and in the midst of our peace and security, lay upon us some lasting scourge for our so long neglect and contempt of his most glorious gospel.

Ob. But we have here great peace, plenty of the gospel, and many sweet delights and variety of comforts.

Ans. True indeed, and far be it from us to deny and diminish the least of these mercies, but have we rendered unto God thankful obedience for his long peace, whilst other peoples have been at wars? Have we not rather murmured, repined, and fallen at ears amongst ourselves, whilst our peace hath lasted with foreign power? Was there ever more suits in law, more envy, contempt and reproach than nowadays? Abraham and Lot departed asunder when there fell a breach betwixt them, which was occasioned by the straitness of the land: and surely I am persuaded, that howsoever the frailties of men are principal in all contentions, yet the straitness of the place is such, as each man is fain to pluck his means as it were out of his neighbour's throat, there is such pressing and oppressing in town and country, about farms, trade, traffick, &c. so as a man can hardly any where set up a trade but he shall pull down two of his neighbours.

The towns abound with young tradesmen, and the hospitals are full of the ancient, the country is replenished with new farmers, and

the alms-houses are filled with old labourers, many there are who get their living with bearing burdens, but more are fain to burden the land with their whole bodies : multitudes get their means of life by prating, and so do numbers more by begging. Neither come these straits upon men always through intemperance, ill husbandry, indiscretion, &c. as some think, but even the most wise, sober, and discreet men, go often to the wall, when they have done their best, wherein as God's providence swayeth all, so it is easy to see, that the straitness of the place having in it so many strait hearts, cannot but produce such effects more and more, so as every indifferent minded man should be ready to say with father Abraham, *Take thou the right hand, and I will take the left* : let us not thus oppress, straiten, and afflict one another, but seeing there is a spacious land, the way to which is through the sea, we will end this difference in a day.

That I speak nothing about the bitter contention that hath been about religion, by writing, disputing and inveighing earnestly one against another, the heat of which zeal if it were turned against the rude barbarism of the heathens, it might do more good in a day, than it hath done here in many years. Neither of the little love to the gospel, and profit which is made by the preachers in most places, which might easily drive the zealous to the heathens who no doubt if they had but a drop of that knowledge which here flieth about the streets, would be filled with exceeding great joy and gladness, as that they would even pluck the kingdom of heaven by violence, and take it as it were by force.

The greatest let that is yet behind is the sweet fellowship of friends, and the satiety of bodily delights.

The last let.

But can there be two nearer friends almost than Abraham and Lot or than Paul and Barnabas, and yet upon as little occasions as we have here, they departed asunder, two of them being patriarchs of the church of old; the other the apostles of the church which is new, and their covenants were such as it seemeth might bind as much as any covenant between men at this day, and yet to avoid greater inconveniences they departed asunder.

Neither must men take so much thought for the flesh, as not to be pleased except they can pamper their bodies with variety of dainties. Nature is content with little, and health is much endangered, by mixtures upon the stomach: the delights of the palate do often inflame the vital parts: as the tongue setteth a fire the whole body. Secondly, varieties here are not common to all, but many good men are glad to snap at a crust. The rent taker lives on sweet morsels, but the rent payer eats a dry crust often with watery eyes; and it is nothing to say what some one of a hundred hath, but what the bulk, body and commonality hath, which I warrant you is short enough.

James 3. 6.

And they also which now live so sweetly, hardly will their children attain to that privilege, but some circumventor or other will outstrip them, and make them sit in the dust, to which men are brought in one age, but cannot get out of it again in seven generations.

To conclude, without all partiality, the present consumption which groweth upon us here, whilst the land groaneth under so many close-fisted and unmerciful men, being compared with the easiness, plainness and plentifulness in living in those remote places, may quickly persuade any man to a liking of this course, and to practise a removal, which being done by honest,

godly and industrious men, they shall there be right heartily welcome, but for other dissolute and profane life, their rooms are better than their companies; for if here where the gospel hath been so long and plentifully taught, they are yet frequent in such vices as the heathen would shame to speak of, what will they be when there is less restraint in word and deed? My only suit to all men is, that whether they live there or here, they would learn to use this world as they used it not, keeping faith and a good conscience, both with God and men, that when the day of account shall come, they may come forth as good and fruitful servants, and freely be received, and enter in to the joy of their master.

R. C.*

FINIS.

* Probably *Robert Cushman*, who returned to England in the ship *Fortune*, in which the preceding *Relation* was transmitted. It is to this *Relation*, and the accompanying documents, that Mr. Winslow probably refers, in a Postscript to his *Good Neues from New England*. "If any man desire a more ample relation of the state of this countrie, before such time as this present relation taketh place, I referre them to the two former printed bookes: the one published by the President and Councill for New England, and the other gathered by the Inhabitants of this present plantation at Plimouth in New England. Both which bookes are to be sold by *John Bellamy*, at his shop at the three golden lions, in Corn-hill neere the Royall Exchange."—We have therefore in the *Relation* the contribution of several of the company. Could they have anticipated the interest which their narrative was to excite in after times, they would have left us probably some more certain indications of the writers. The first part, from a correspondence in expression in several instances with the portions of *Bradford's* history given by Mr. Prince, may be supposed to have been written by him, or extracted principally from his manuscripts. The Journey to *Packanokik*, we may ascribe to *Winslow*, who went on that expedition. The Journey to *Namaschet* we have supposed to have been written by *Allerton*. These conjectures however are to be tested by further examination, and we are left to conjecture who wrote the voyages to *Nauset* and to *Massachuset*.

It is observable, that there is no mention of the death of *Governour Carver*. There is a chasm in the narrative from March 23, until the commencement of the Journey to *Packanokik*, July 2d; and in this interval the death of *Carver* and of his wife occurred. As there was evidently a recurrence to *Bradford's* MSS. for the first part of the *Relation*, if indeed he were not the sole compiler of that portion, it seems difficult to account for this omission, especially as we find distinct and emphatic mention of this affliction, in his MS. history, as copied in *Prince's Annals*. Are we to suppose, that this discouraging circumstance was suppressed by those who directed the publication in England, to prevent unfavourable impressions against the country and climate?

[THE foregoing paper, for which the Historical Society acknowledges its obligation to the Hon. Mr. Du Ponceau of Philadelphia, supplies the deficiencies in the abridgment of Mourt's Relation, published by us, from the fifth volume of Purchas's Pilgrims, in the VIII volume of our first series, pp. 203—239. At that time, 1802, the original was not known to be in our country, and Harvard College library contained the only copy of Purchas's abridgment. The same venerable compilation supplied us with the most important part of Winslow's Relation, abbreviated in the same way with Mourt, and published by us in immediate succession in the same volume of our Collections pp. 239—276. The copious treasures of the Ebeling library, recently added to our University at Cambridge, contain the original tract, which we have resolved to give in the same manner. ED.]

GOOD NEWES FROM NEW ENGLAND :

OR

A True Relation of things very remarkable at the Plantation of Plimoth in New England.

Shewing the wondrous providence and goodness of God, in their preservation and continuance, being delivered from many apparent deaths and dangers.

Together with a Relation of such religious and civil laws and customs, as are in practice amongst the Indians adjoining to them at this day. As also what commodities are there to be raised for the maintenance of that and other Plantations in the said country.

Written by E. W. who hath borne a part in the fore-named troubles, and there lived since their first arrival.

Whereunto is added by him a brief Relation of a credible intelligence of the present estate of Virginia.

LONDON: Printed by I. D. for William Bladen and John Bellamie, and are to be sold at their shops, at the Bible in Paul's Church-yard, and at the three Golden Lions in Corn-hill, near the Royal Exchange. 1624.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

To all well-willers and furtherers of Plantations in New England; especially to such as ever have or desire to assist, the people of Plimoth in their just proceedings, grace, and peace, be multiplied.

RIGHT honourable and worshipful gentlemen, or whatsoever: Since it hath pleased God to stir you up to be

instruments of his glory, in so honourable an enterprise as the enlarging of his majesty's dominions, by planting his loyal subjects in so healthful and hopeful a country as New England is; where the church of God being seated in sincerity, there is no less hope of convincing the heathen of their evil ways, and converting them to the true knowledge and worship of the living God, and so consequently the salvation of their souls by the merits of Jesus Christ, than elsewhere though it be much talked on, and lightly or lamely prosecuted. I therefore think it but my duty to offer the view of our proceedings to your worthy considerations, having to that end composed them together thus briefly as you see; wherein to your great encouragement, you may behold the good providence of God working with you in our preservation from so many dangerous plots and treacheries, as have been intended against us; as also in giving his blessing so powerfully upon the weak means we had, enabling us with health and ability beyond expectation, in our greatest scarcities, and possessing the hearts of the savages with astonishment and fear of us, whereas if God had let them loose, they might easily have swallowed us up, scarce being an handful in comparison of those forces they might have gathered together against us, which now by God's blessing will be more hard and difficult, in regard our number of men is increased, our town better fortified, and our store better victualed. Blessed therefore be his name, that hath done so great things for us, and hath wrought so great a change amongst us.

Accept I pray you my weak endeavours, pardon my unskilfulness, and bear with my plainness in the things I have handled. Be not discouraged by our former necessities, but rather encouraged with us, hoping that as God hath wrought with us in our beginning of this worthy work, undertaken in his name and fear: so he will by us accomplish the same to his glory and our comfort, if we neglect not the means. I confess, it hath not been much less chargeable to some of you, than hard and difficult to us, that have endured the brunt of the battle, and yet small profits returned: only by God's mercy we are

safely seated, housed, and fortified, by which means a great step is made unto gain, and a more direct course taken for the same, than if at first we had rashly and covetously fallen upon it.

Indeed, three things are the overthrow and bane (as I may term it) of plantations.

1. The vain expectation of present profit, which too commonly taketh a principal seat in the heart and affection: though God's glory, &c. is preferred before it in the mouth with protestation.

2. Ambition in their governours and commanders, seeking only to make themselves great, and slaves of all that are under them, to maintain a transitory base honour in themselves, which God oft punisheth with contempt.

3. The carelessness of those that send over supplies of men unto them, not caring how they be qualified: so that oft times they are rather the image of men endued with bestial, yea, diabolical affections, than the image of God, endued with reason, understanding and holiness. I praise God I speak not these things experimentally, by way of complaint of our own condition, but having great cause on the contrary part to be thankful to God for his mercies towards us: but rather, if there be any too desirous of gain, to entreat them to moderate their affections, and consider that no man expecteth fruit before the tree be grown; advising all men, that as they tender their own welfare, so to make choice of such to manage and govern their affairs, as are approved not to be seekers of themselves, but the common good of all for whom they are employed; and beseeching such as have the care of transporting men for the supply and furnishing of plantations, to be truly careful in sending such as may further and not hinder so good an action. There is no godly honest man, but will be helpful in his kind, and adorn his profession with an upright life and conversation, which doctrine of manners ought first to be preached by giving good example to the poor savage heathens amongst whom they live. On the contrary part, what great offence hath been given by many profane men, who being but seeming christians, have made Christ and christianity

stink in the nostrils of the poor infidels, and so laid a stumbling block before them: *but woe be to them by whom such offences come.*

These things I offer to your christian considerations, beseeching you to make a good construction of my simple meaning, and take in good part this ensuing relation, dedicating myself and it evermore unto your service; beseeching God to crown our christian and faithful endeavours with his blessings temporal and eternal.

Yours in this service, ever to be commanded:

E. W.

To the Reader.

Good reader, when I first penned this discourse, I intended it chiefly for the satisfaction of my private friends, but since that time have been persuaded to publish the same: and the rather, because of a disorderly colony that are dispersed, and most of them returned, to the great prejudice and damage of him that sent them forth; who as they were a stain to Old England that bred them, in respect of their lives and manners amongst the Indians: so it is to be feared, will be no less to New England in their vile and clamorous reports, because she would not foster them in their desired idle courses. I would not be understood to think there were no well-deserving persons amongst them: for of mine own knowledge it was a grief to some that they were so yoked; whose deserts as they were then suitable to their honest protestations, so I desire still may be, in respect of their just and true relations.

Peradventure thou wilt rather marvel that I deal so plainly, than any way doubt of the truth of this my relation, yea it may be tax me therewith, as seeming rather to discourage men, than any way to further so noble an action? If any honest mind be discouraged, I am sorry, sure I am, I have given no just cause; and am so far from being discouraged myself, as I purpose to return forthwith. And for other light and vain persons, if they

stumble hereat I have my desire, accounting it better for them and us that they keep where they are, as being unfit and unable to perform so great a task.

Some faults have escaped because I could not attend on the press, which I pray thee correct as thou findest, and I shall account it as a favour unto me.

Thine

E. W.

A brief Relation of a credible intelligence of the present estate of Virginia.

AT the earnest entreaty of some of my much respected friends, I have added to the former discourse, a relation of such things as were credibly reported at Plimoth in New England in September last past, concerning the present estate of Virginia. And because men may doubt how we should have intelligence of their affairs, being we are so far distant, I will therefore satisfy the doubtful therein. Captain Francis West being in New England about the latter end of May past, sailed from thence to Virginia, and returned in August: in September the same ship and company being discharged by him at Damarins Cove, came to New Plimoth, where upon our earnest inquiry after the state of Virginia since that bloody slaughter committed by the Indians upon our friends and countrymen, the whole ships company agreed in this; viz. that upon all occasions they chased the Indians to and fro, insomuch, as they sued daily unto the English for peace, who for the present would not admit of any; that Sir George Early, &c. was at that present employed upon service against them; that amongst many others, Opachancano the chief emperor was supposed to be slain, his son also was killed at the same time. And though by reason of these fore-named broils in the fore part of the year, the English had undergone great want of food, yet through God's mercy there was never more shew of plenty, having as much and as good corn on the ground as ever they had; neither was the hopes of their tobacco crop inferiour to that

of their corn : so that the planters were never more full of encouragement, which I pray God long to continue, and so to direct both them and us, as his glory may be the principal aim and end of all our actions, and that for his mercies' sake, Amen.

FINIS.



Good Newes from New England.

[DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE ORIGINAL PUBLICATION AND THE ABRIDGMENT.]

Note. The paragraphs are not numbered in the original ; the numbers in the Hist. Coll. will be used here only for references.]

At the end of No. 1. what follows is wanting : “ But our governours not knowing what to make of this strange carriage, and comparing it with that we had formerly heard, committed him to the custody of Captain Standish, hoping now to know some certainty of that we so often heard, either by his own relation to us, or to Tisquantum at his return, desiring myself, having special familiarity with the other fore-named Indian, to see if I could learn any thing from him, whose answer was sparingly to this effect ; that he could not certainly tell, but thought they were enemies to us. That night Captain Standish gave me and another charge of him, and gave us order to use him kindly, and that he should not want any thing he desired, and to take all occasions to talk and inquire of the reasons of those reports we heard, and withal to signify that upon his true relation he should be sure of his own freedom. At first fear so possessed him, that he could scarce say any thing : but in the end became more familiar, and told us that the messenger which his master sent in summer to treat of peace, at his return persuaded him rather to war ; and to the end he might provoke him thereunto, (as appeared to him by our reports) detained many of the things were sent him by our governour, scorning the meanness of them both in respect of what himself

had formerly sent, and also of the greatness of his own person ; so that he much blamed the former messenger, saying, that upon the knowledge of this his false carriage, it would cost him his life ; but assured us that upon his relation of our speech then with him to his master, he would be friends with us. Of this we informed the governour and his assistant, and Captain Standish, who after consultation considered him howsoever but in the state of a messenger, and it being as well against the law of arms amongst them as us in Europe, to lay violent hands on any such, set him at liberty, the governour giving him order to certify his master that he had heard of his large and many threatenings, at which he was much offended, daring him in those respects to the utmost, if he would not be reconciled to live peaceably as other his neighbours ; manifesting withal (as ever) his desire of peace ; but his fearless resolution, if he could not so live amongst them. After which he caused meat to be offered him, but he refused to eat, making all speed to return, and giving many thanks for his liberty. But requesting the other Indian again to return, the weather being violent, he used many words to persuade him to stay longer, but could not. Whereupon he left him, and said he was with his friends, and would not take a journey in such extremity."

No. 2 begins "*After this when Tisquantum returned,*"

In No. 3 no change is discovered, except in line 6 of p. 241 "*whom he thought most fit,*" and in line 22 of same page "*backs towards the fire.*" At the 16 line it is broken into another paragraph.

No. 4 wants at the end what follows : "To confirm this his jealousy he told us of many secret passages that passed between him and others, having their meetings ordinarily abroad in the woods : but if at home howsoever he was excluded from their secrecy, saying it was the manner of the Indians when they meant plainly to deal openly : but in this his practice there was no shew of honesty.

"Hereupon the governour, together with his assistant and Captain Standish, called together such, as by them were thought most meet for advice in so weighty a busi-

ness, who after consideration hereof came to this resolution : that as hitherto upon all occasions between them and us, we had ever manifested undaunted courage and resolution, so it would not now stand with our safety to mew up ourselves in our new-enclosed town, partly because our store was almost empty, and therefore must seek out for our daily food, without which we could not long subsist ; but especially for that thereby they would see us dismayed, and be encouraged to prosecute their malicious purposes, with more eagerness than ever they intended : whereas on the contrary, by the blessing of God, our fearless carriage might be a means to discourage and weaken their proceedings. And therefore thought best to proceed in our trading voyage, making this use of that we heard, to go the better provided, and use the more carefulness both at home and abroad, leaving the event to the disposing of the Almighty, whose providence as it had hitherto been over us for good, so we had now no cause (save our sins) to despair of his mercy in our preservation and continuance, where we desired rather to be instruments of good to the heathens about us, than to give them the least measure of just offence."

No. 5 begins instead of "*Notwithstanding*," in this manner : "All things being now in readiness" ; and in line 3 it reads "but *we had* no sooner turned the point," and in line 22 after the word "*end*" inserts "that," and in line 32 reads "*chiefest* champions," and closes with this additional relation : "To this the governour answered, he should be sorry that any just and necessary occasions of war should arise between him and any the savages, but especially Massassowat, not that he feared him more than the rest, but because his love more exceeded towards him than any. Whereunto Hobbamock replied ; There was no cause wherefore he should distrust him, and therefore should do well to continue his affections."

No. 6 begins, "But to the end things might be made more manifest," *the governour caused*, &c.

In No. 7 insert after line 15, "Now though he could not make good these his large promises, especially because of the continued peace between Massassowat and

us, he therefore raised this false alarm, hoping whilst things were hot in the heat of blood, to provoke us to march into his country against him, whereby he hoped to kindle such a flame as would not easily be quenched, and hoping if that block were once removed, there were no other between him and honour; which he loved as his life, and preferred before his peace. For these and the like abuses, the governour sharply reprov'd him, yet was he so necessary and profitable an instrument, as at that time we could not miss him."

Nos. 9, 10, 11 and 12 form but one paragraph in the original. In the last line but three of No. 9 it reads "*had* deserved to die." In last line but one of No. 10, after "*sent his own knife*," reads "and them therewith."

In No. 14, last line but one, original has "reporting of."

The words "not being" in line 5 of page 246 are transposed. The same change occurs in line 17 of No. 49.

In the tenth line of No. 16 "*said*" is printed for "saith."

No. 18 has in the tenth line "*most* fit," and at the end should be a semicolon (;), and conclude with these words, "not sparing to requite the love we shewed them, with secret backbitings, revilings, &c. the chief of them being forestalled and made against us, before they came, as after appeared: Nevertheless for their master's sake, who formerly had deserved well from us, we continued to do them whatsoever good or furtherance we could, attributing these things to the want of conscience and discretion, expecting each day, when God in his providence would disburden us of them, sorrowing that their overseers were not of more ability and fitness for their places, and much fearing what would be the issue of such raw and unconscionable beginnings."

At the beginning of No. 23, after the words, "*Both colonies being thus agreed*," should be inserted "and their companies fitted and joined together, we resolved to set forward, but were oft crossed in our purposes; as first Master Richard Greene, brother in law to Master Weston, who from him had a charge in the oversight and government of his colony, died suddenly at our plantation, to whom we gave burial befitting his place, in the best man-

ner we could. Afterward, having further order to proceed by letter from their other governour at the Massachusetts, twice Captain Standish set forth with them, but were driven in again by cross and violent winds: himself the second time being sick of a violent fever. By reason whereof (our own wants being like to be now greater than formerly; partly, because we were enforced to neglect our corn, and spend much time in fortification, but especially because such havock was made of that little we had, through the unjust and dishonest carriage of those people before mentioned, at our first entertainment of them)..... and in line 3 "again" before "*set forth.*" The paragraph includes also Nos. 24 and 25, omitting the word "*that*" on page 250, line 4.

In the original, Nos. 26, 27 and 28 form but one paragraph, and in line 4 of page 251 reads "places" instead of "*parts,*" and line 9 "being small." The last sentence but one of No. 27, after "*not be further broken,*" has a comma (,) and proceeds, "promising ere long to fetch both it and the corn; assuring them, if neither were diminished, he would take it as a sign of their honest and true friendship, which they so much made shew of, but if they were, they should certainly smart for their unjust and dishonest dealing, and further make good whatsoever they had so taken. So he did likewise at Mattachiest, and took leave of them, being resolved to leave the ship, and take his journey home by land with our own company, sending word to the ship, that they should take their first opportunity to go for Plimouth where he determined, by the permission of God to meet them." The conclusion of No. 28 is, "save *the* shallop."

Nos. 29 and 30 are but one paragraph.

Nos. 31, 32 and 33 are but one paragraph.

Nos. 34 and 35 are one paragraph, and line 13 of No. 35 reads "return *them* again."

Nos. 36, 37, 38, 39, and 40 make one paragraph, and line 4 of No. 36 reads "hoping *also* to get more," and line 8 of No. 37 "*had* formerly concluded."

Nos. 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46 and 47 make one paragraph, and line 4 of page 258 reads "the governour *again*

laid this service upon myself," and the last line but one of No. 44 "the Dutchmen departed," and line 6 of No. 46 has "this *his* extremity," and line 9, after "*conserves*," adds "&c." The last sentence on page 260 ends thus, "which gave him and us good encouragement," and line 14 of page 261 reads "send *me* such things." In No. 47, after "*somewhat troubled me*" in line 6, is omitted, "being unaccustomed and unacquainted in such businesses, especially having nothing to make it comfortable, my consort being as ignorant as myself;" and proceeds, "but being *we* must do." The conclusion of No 47, after "poisonous savours," is: "After dinner he desired me to get him a goose or duck, and make him some pottage therewith, with as much speed as I could: so I took a man with me, and made a shot at a couple of ducks, some six score paces off, and killed one, at which he wondered: so we returned forthwith, and dressed it, making more broth therewith, which he much desired; never did I see a man so low brought, recover in that measure in so short a time. The fowl being extraordinary fat, I told Hobbamock I must take off the top thereof, saying it would make him very sick again if he did eat it; this he acquainted Massassowat therewith, who would not be persuaded to it, though I pressed it very much, shewing the strength thereof, and the weakness of his stomach, which could not possibly bear it. Notwithstanding he made a gross meal of it, and ate as much as would well have satisfied a man in health. About an hour after he began to be very sick, and straining very much, cast up the broth again, and in overstraining himself, began to bleed at the nose, and so continued the space of four hours; then they all wished he had been ruled, concluding now he would die, which we much feared also. They asked me what I thought of him; I answered, his case was desperate, yet it might be it would save his life: for if it ceased in time, he would forthwith sleep and take rest, which was the principal thing he wanted. Not long after his blood stayed, and he slept at least six or eight hours; when he awaked I washed his face, and bathed and suppled his beard and nose with a linen cloth: but on a sudden he

chopped his nose in the water, and drew up some therein, and sent it forth again with such violence, as he began to bleed afresh, then they thought there was no hope, but we perceived it was but the tenderness of his nostril, and therefore told them I thought it would stay presently, as indeed it did."

In No. 48, after "*hundred miles*," is omitted what follows: "To all that came one of his chief men related the manner of his sickness, how near he was spent, how amongst others his friends the English came to see him, and how suddenly they recovered him to this strength they saw, he being now able to sit upright of himself."

"The day before our coming, another sachim being there, told him, that now he might see how hollow-hearted the English were, saying if we had been such friends in deed, as we were in shew, we would have visited him in this his sickness, using many arguments to withdraw his affections, and to persuade him to give way to some things against us, which were motioned to him not long before: but"..... The author concluded his paragraph with "Divers other things were worthy the noting, but I fear I have been too tedious."

The only alteration observed in No. 49, besides that before noted, is in line 11, "our own *after-safety*."

Line 17 of No. 50 has "mine own" instead of "*my own*," and in last line but one omits "*it*."

In No. 51 line 5 has "of *his* laws, &c," and on page 264 line 10 "eaten sufficient."

Line 4 of No. 52 reads "which *having* done."

In No. 53 an important passage is thus abbreviated by Purchas: "*They sent; and our governour writ divers reasons of dislike*." The original is: "This course was well liked, and an Indian was sent with all speed with a letter to our governour, the contents whereof were to this effect; that being in great want, and their people daily falling down, he intended to go to Munhiggen, where was a plantation of Sir Ferdi: Gorges, to buy bread from the ships that came thither a fishing, with the first opportunity of wind; but knew not how the colony would be preserved till his return: he had used all means both

to buy and borrow of Indians whom he knew to be stored, and he thought maliciously withheld it, and therefore was resolved to take it by violence, and only waited the return of the messenger, which he desired should be hastened, craving his advice therein, promising also to make restitution afterward. The governour upon the receipt hereof, asked the messenger what store of corn they had, as if he had intended to buy of them; who answered very little more than that they reserved for seed, having already spared all they could. Forthwith the governour and his assistant sent for many of us to advise with them herein, who after serious consideration, no way approving of this intended course, the governour answered his letter, and caused many of us to set our hands thereto, the contents whereof were to this purpose; we altogether disliked their intendment, as being against the law of God and nature, shewing how it would cross the worthy ends and proceedings of the king's majesty, and his honourable council for this place, both in respect of the peaceable enlarging of his majesty's dominions, and also of the propagation of the knowledge and law of God, and the glad tidings of salvation, which we and they were bound to seek, and were not to use such means as would breed a distaste in the savages against our persons and professions, assuring them their master would incur much blame hereby, neither could they answer the same; for our own parts our case was almost the same with theirs, having but a small quantity of corn left, and were enforced to live on ground-nuts, clams, muscles, and such other things as naturally the country afforded, and which did and would maintain strength, and were easy to be gotten, all which things they had in great abundance, yea, oysters also which we wanted, and therefore necessity could not be said to constrain them thereunto. Moreover, that they should consider, if they proceeded therein, all they could so get would maintain them but a small time, and then they must perforce seek their food abroad, which having made the Indians their enemies, would be very difficult for them, and therefore much better to begin a little the sooner, and so continue their peace, upon which course

they might with good conscience desire and expect the blessing of God, whereas on the contrary they could not.

“Also that they should consider their own weakness, being most swelled, and diseased in their bodies, and therefore the more unlikely to make their party good against them, and that they should not expect help from us in that or any the like unlawful actions. Lastly, that howsoever some of them might escape, yet the principal agents should expect no better than the gallows, whensoever any special officer should be sent over by his majesty, or his Council for New England, which we expected, and who would undoubtedly call them to account for the same. These were the contents of our answer, which was directed to their whole colony. Another particular letter our governour sent to John Sanders, shewing how dangerous it would be for him above all others, being he was their leader and commander; and therefore in friendly manner advised him to desist.” What follows is a distinct paragraph.

The Nos. 54 and 55 make but one paragraph. The word “*publick*” in line 3 of No. 54 is in the original “double,” and after “*court*” in line 6 is a comma, (,) whereupon Winslow proceeds: “offering it to the consideration of the company, it being high time to come to resolution, how sudden soever it seemed to them, fearing it would be put in execution before we could give any intelligence thereof. This business was no less troublesome than grievous, and the more, because it is so ordinary in these times for men to measure things by the events thereof: but especially for that we knew no means to deliver our countrymen and preserve ourselves, than by returning their malicious and cruel purposes upon their own heads, and causing them to fall into the same pit they had digged for others, though it much grieved us to shed the blood of those whose good we ever intended and aimed at, as a principal in all our proceedings. But in the end we came to this publick conclusion, that because it was a matter of such weight as every man was not of sufficiency to judge, nor fitness to know because of many other Indians which daily as occasion serveth con-

verse with us; therefore the governour, his assistant, and the captain, should take such to themselves as they thought most meet, and conclude thereof; which done *we came to this conclusion*,".... Before the concluding sentence, this is omitted: "What would be the event of these things (he said) he much feared; and therefore not daring to stay any longer among them, though he knew not the way yet adventured to come to us, partly to make known their weak and dangerous estate, as he conceived, and partly to desire he might there remain till things were better settled at the other plantation."

The word "*not*," in line 5 of No. 56, which was noted as "probably an error of the press" in Purchas, was by Winslow written "*both*." Where the sentence in line 19 ends, should be a comma (,) and this passage followed: "as amongst us divers seeing the work prove tedious, would have dissuaded from proceeding, flattering themselves with peace and security, and accounting it rather a work of superfluity and vain glory, than simple necessity. But God (whose providence hath waked and as I may say, watched for us whilst we slept) having determined to preserve us from these intended treacheries, undoubtedly ordained this as a special means to advantage us and discourage our adversaries, and therefore so stirred up the hearts of the governours and other forward instruments, as the work was just made serviceable against this needful and dangerous time, though we ignorant of the same. But that I may proceed, *the Indian last mentioned*,"....

Line 22 on page 268 reads "with *that* they now heard."

Nos. 58 and 59 form but one paragraph. On page 269 line 5 reads "he *shall* not take us," and line 8 "sharpen the *points* of their knives," and the last line "stood by all this time *as a spectator*."

Line 12 of No. 60 has "being" before "*more ancient*."

Nos. 61 and 62 form but one paragraph, and line 12 of page 271, after "*both discharged*," has "at once."

Line 3 of page 272 has "to" before "*delay*," and line 4 has "till" before "*they*," and line 6 reads "the captain prevented *them*."

Line 9 of No. 64 reads "prosecuted *it*," and line 18 "bribed so to do," and line 25 "deliver *this* message," and last line but two "*this* messenger."

Line 2 of No. 65 reads "returned with answer."

After No 66 follows this paragraph :

"I fear I have been too tedious both in this and other things, yet when I considered how necessary a thing it is that the truth and grounds of this action, especially should be made known, and the several dispositions of that dissolved colony, whose reports undoubtedly will be as various, I could not but enlarge myself where I thought to be most brief; neither durst I be too brief, lest I should eclipse and rob God of that honour, glory, and praise, which belongeth to him for preserving us from falling when we were at the pit's brim, and yet feared nor knew not that we were in danger."

In the margin of No. 67 is marked "Anno 1623." The "error of the press," conjectured on page 274, is found in the original. This passage, at the end of this paragraph and beginning of the next, is omitted: "Only if occasion served upon any special service they might employ such as they thought most fit to execute the same, during this appointed time, and at the end thereof all men to be employed by them in such service as they thought most necessary for the general good. And because there is great difference in the ground, that therefore a set quantity should be set down for a person, and each man to have his fall by lot, as being most just and equal, and against which no man could except."

"At a general meeting of the company, many courses were propounded, but this approved and followed, as being the most likely for the present and future good of the company; and therefore before this month began to prepare our ground against seed time."

The close of No. 69 is wanting, as follows: "So that at once God seemed to deprive us of all future hopes. The most courageous were now discouraged, because God which hitherto had been our only Shield and Supporter, now seemed in his anger to arm himself against us; and who can withstand the fierceness of his wrath."

Line 9 of No. 70 should read "look *down* upon us," and line 23 "*or* revived."

Line 14 of No. 71 should read "by private prayer," and in line 16, after "*apart*," should be "and appointed," and the words "*his other*," in last line but one, are transposed.

In line 4 of No. 72 "also" is omitted before "*notwithstanding*."

The conclusion of this very interesting tract, as abridged by Purchas, was by Dr. Belknap inserted as an Appendix to the 2d vol. of his American Biography; but we have thought the original worthy of insertion in our Collections.

"Thus have I made a true and full narration of the state of our plantation; and such things as were most remarkable therein since December, 1621. If I have omitted any thing, it is either through weakness of memory, or because I judged it not material: I confess my style rude, and unskilfulness in the task I undertook, being urged thereunto by opportunity, which I knew to be wanting in others, and but for which I would not have undertaken the same; yet as it is rude so it is plain, and therefore the easier to be understood; wherein others may see that which we are bound to acknowledge, viz. that if ever any people in these later ages were upheld by the providence of God after a more special manner than others, then we: and therefore are the more bound to celebrate the memory of his goodness, with everlasting thankfulness. For in these fore-named straits, such was our state, as in the morning we had often our food to seek for the day, and yet performed the duties of our callings, I mean other daily labors, to provide for after time: and though at some times in some seasons at noon I have seen men stagger by reason of faintness for want of food, yet ere night by the good providence and blessing of God, we have enjoyed such plenty as though the windows of heaven had been opened unto us. How few, weak, and raw, were we at our first beginning, and there settling, and in the midst of barbarous enemies? Yet God wrought our peace for us.

How often have we been at the pit's brim, and in danger to be swallowed up, yea, not knowing, till afterward that we were in peril? And yet God preserved us: yea, and from how many that we yet know not of, he that knoweth all things can best tell: so that when I seriously consider of things, I cannot but think that God hath a purpose to give that land as an inheritance to our nation, and great pity it were that it should long lie in so desolate a state, considering it agreeth so well with the constitution of our bodies, being both fertile, and so temperate for heat and cold, as in that respect one can scarce distinguish New England from Old.

"A few things I thought meet to add hereunto, which I have observed amongst the Indians, both touching their religion, and sundry other customs amongst them. And first, whereas myself and others, in former letters (which came to the press against my will and knowledge) wrote, that the Indians about us are a people without any religion, or knowledge of any God, therein I erred, though we could then gather no better: for as they conceive of many divine powers, so of one whom they call Kiehtan, to be the principal and maker of all the rest, and to be made by none: he (they say) created the heavens, earth, sea, and all creatures contained therein. Also that he made one man and one woman, of whom they and we and all mankind came: but how they became so far dispersed that know they not. At first they say, there was no sachim, or king, but Kiehtan, who dwelleth above in the heavens, whither all good men go when they die, to see their friends and have their fill of all things: this his habitation lieth far westward in the heavens, they say: thither the bad men go also, and knock at his door, but he bids them Quatchet, that is to say, Walk abroad, for there is no place for such; so that they wander in restless want and penury: never man saw this Kiehtan; only old men tell them of him, and bid them tell their children, yea, to charge them to teach their posterities the same, and lay the like charge upon them. This

The meaning of the word, *Kiehtan*, I think hath reference to Antiquity, for *Chise* is an old man, and *Kiehchise*, a man that exceedeth in age.

power they acknowledge to be good, and when they would obtain any great matter, meet together, and cry unto him, and so likewise for plenty, victory, &c. sing, dance, feast, give thanks, and hang up garlands and other things in memory of the same.

“Another power they worship, whom they call Hobbamock, and to the northward of us Hobbamoqui; this as far as we can conceive is the devil, him they call upon to cure their wounds and diseases. When they are curable, he persuades them he sends the same for some conceived anger against them, but upon their calling upon him can and doth help them: but when they are mortal, and not curable in nature, then he persuades them Kiehtan is angry and sends them, whom none can cure: insomuch, as in that respect only they somewhat doubt whether he be simply good, and therefore in sickness never call upon him.

“This Hobbamock appears in sundry forms unto them, as in the shape of a man, a deer, a fawn, an eagle, &c. but most ordinarily a snake: he appears not to all but the chiefest and most judicious amongst them, though all of them strive to attain to that hellish height of honour.

“He appeareth most ordinary and is most conversant with three sorts of people, one I confess I neither know by name nor office directly: of these they have few but esteem highly of them, and think that no weapon can kill them: another they call by the name of powah, and the third pnieese.

“The office and duty of the powah is to be exercised principally in calling upon the devil, and curing diseases of the sick or wounded. The common people join with him in the exercise of invocation, but do but only assent or as we term it, say amen to that he saith, yet sometime break out into a short musical note with him. The powah is eager and free in speech, fierce in countenance, and joineth many antick and laborious gestures with the same over the party diseased. If the party be wounded he will also seem to suck the wound, but if they be curable (as they say) he toucheth it not, but a skook, that is the snake, or wobsacuck, that is the eagle, sitteth on his

shoulder and licks the same. This none see but the powah, who tells them he doth it himself. If the party be otherwise diseased, it is accounted sufficient if in any shape he but come into the house, taking it for an undoubted sign of recovery.

“ And as in former ages Apollo had his temple at Delphos, and Diana at Ephesus ; so have I heard them call upon some as if they had their residence in some certain places, or because they appeared in those forms in the same. In the powah's speech he promiseth to sacrifice many skins of beasts, kettles, hatchets, beads, knives, and other the best things they have to the fiend, if he will come to help the party diseased : but whether they perform it I know not. The other practices I have seen, being necessarily called at some times to be with their sick, and have used the best arguments I could make them understand against the same : they have told me I should see the devil at those times come to the party, but I assured myself and them of the contrary, which so proved : yea, themselves have confessed they never saw him when any of us were present. In desperate and extraordinary hard travail in childbirth, when the party cannot be delivered by the ordinary means, they send for this powah, though ordinarily their travail is not so extreme as in our parts of the world, they being of a more hardy nature ; for on the third day after childbirth I have seen the mother with the infant upon a small occasion in cold weather in a boat upon the sea.

“ Many sacrifices the Indians use, and in some cases kill children. It seemeth they are various in their religious worship in a little distance, and grow more and more cold in their worship to Kiehtan ; saying in their memory he was much more called upon. The Nanohiggansets exceed in their blind devotion, and have a great spacious house wherein only some few (that are as we may term them priests) come : thither at certain known times resort all their people, and offer almost all the riches they have to their gods, as kettles, skins, hatchets, beads, knives, &c. all which are cast by the priests into a great fire that they make in the midst of the house, and there consumed to

ashes. To this offering every man bringeth freely, and the more he is known to bring, hath the better esteem of all men. This the other Indians about us approve of as good, and wish their sachems would appoint the like: and because the plague hath not reigned at Nanohigganset as at other places about them, they attribute to this custom there used.

“The pnieses are men of great courage and wisdom, and to these also the devil appeareth more familiarly than to others, and as we conceive maketh covenant with them to preserve them from death, by wounds, with arrows, knives, hatchets, &c. or at least both themselves and especially the people think themselves to be freed from the same. And though against their battles all of them by painting disfigure themselves, yet they are known by their courage and boldness, by reason whereof one of them will chase almost an hundred men, for they account it death for whomsoever stand in their way. These are highly esteemed of all sorts of people, and are of the sachims' council, without whom they will not war or undertake any weighty business. In war their sachims for their more safety go in the midst of them. They are commonly men of the greatest stature and strength, and such as will endure most hardness, and yet are more discreet, courteous, and humane in their carriages than any amongst them, scorning theft, lying, and the like base dealings, and stand as much upon their reputation as any men.

“And to the end they may have store of these, they train up the most forward and likeliest boys from their childhood in great hardness, and make them abstain from dainty meat, observing divers orders prescribed, to the end that when they are of age the devil may appear to them, causing to drink the juice of sentry and other bitter herbs till they cast, which they must disgorge into the platter, and drink again, and again, till at length through extraordinary oppressing of nature it will seem to be all blood, and this the boys will do with eagerness at the first, and so continue till by reason of faintness they can scarce stand on their legs, and then must go forth into

the cold: also they beat their shins with sticks, and cause them to run through bushes, stumps, and brambles, to make them hardy and acceptable to the devil, that in time he may appear unto them.

“ Their sachims cannot be all called kings, but only some few of them, to whom the rest resort for protection, and pay homage unto them, neither may they war without their knowledge and approbation, yet to be commanded by the greater as occasion serveth. Of this sort is Massassowat our friend, and Conanacus of Nanohiggenset our supposed enemy.

“ Every sachim taketh care for the widow and fatherless, also for such as are aged, and any way maimed, if their friends be dead or not able to provide for them.

“ A sachim will not take any to wife but such an one as is equal to him in birth, otherwise they say their seed would in time become ignoble, and though they have many other wives, yet are they no other than concubines or servants, and yield a kind of obedience to the principal, who ordereth the family and them in it. The like their men observe also, and will adhere to the first during their lives; but put away the other at their pleasure.

“ This government is successive and not by choice. If the father die before the son or daughter be of age, then the child is committed to the protection and tuition of some one amongst them, who ruleth in his stead till he be of age, but when that is I know not.

“ Every sachim knoweth how far the bounds and limits of his own country extendeth, and that is his own proper inheritance, out of that if any of his men desire land to set their corn, he giveth them as much as they can use, and sets them their bounds. In this circuit whosoever hunteth, if they kill any venison, bring him his fee, which is the fore parts of the same, if it be killed on the land, but if in the water, then the skin thereof: the great sachims or kings, know their own bounds or limits of land, as well as the rest.

“ All travellers or strangers for the most part lodge at the sachims, when they come they tell them how long they will stay, and to what place they go, during which

time they receive entertainment according to their persons, but want not.

“Once a year the pnieses use to provoke the people to bestow much corn on the sachim. To that end they appoint a certain time and place near the sachim's dwelling, where the people bring many baskets of corn, and make a great stack thereof. There the pnieses stand ready to give thanks to the people on the sachim's behalf, and after acquainteth the sachim therewith, who fetcheth the same, and is no less thankful, bestowing many gifts on them.

“When any are visited with sickness, their friends resort unto them for their comfort, and continue with them oft-times till their death or recovery. If they die they stay a certain time to mourn for them. Night and morning they perform this duty many days after the burial in a most doleful manner, insomuch as though it be ordinary and the note musical, which they take one from another, and all together, yet it will draw tears from their eyes, and almost from ours also. But if they recover then because their sickness was chargeable, they send corn and other gifts unto them at a certain appointed time, whereat they feast and dance, which they call commoco.

“When they bury the dead they sew up the corpse in a mat and so put it in the earth. If the party be a sachim they cover him with many curious mats, and bury all his riches with him, and enclose the grave with a pale. If it be a child the father will also put his own most special jewels and ornaments in the earth with it, also will cut his hair and disfigure himself very much in token of sorrow. If it be the man or woman of the house, they will pull down the mats and leave the frame standing, and bury them in or near the same, and either remove their dwelling or give over house keeping.

“The men employ themselves wholly in hunting, and other exercises of the bow, except at some times they take some pains in fishing.

“The women live a most slavish life, they carry all their burdens, set and dress their corn, gather it in, seek out for much of their food, beat and make ready the corn to eat, and have all household care lying upon them.

“The younger sort reverence the elder, and do all mean offices whilst they are together, although they be strangers. Boys and girls may not wear their hair like men and women, but are distinguished thereby.

“A man is not accounted a man till he do some notable act, or shew forth such courage and resolution as becometh his place. The men take much tobacco, but for boys so to do they account it odious.

“All their names are significant and variable; for when they come to the state of men and women, they alter them according to their deeds or dispositions.

“When a maid is taken in marriage she first cutteth her hair, and after weareth a covering on her head till her hair be grown out. Their women are diversly disposed, some as modest as they will scarce talk one with another in the company of men, being very chaste also: yet other some light, lascivious and wanton.

“If a woman have a bad husband, or cannot affect him, and there be war or opposition between that and any other people, she will run away from him to the contrary party and there live, where they never come unwelcome; for where are most women, there is greatest plenty.

“When a woman hath her monthly terms she separateth herself from all other company, and liveth certain days in a house alone: after which she washeth herself and all that she hath touched or used, and is again received to her husband's bed or family.

“For adultery the husband will beat his wife and put her away, if he please. Some common strumpets there are as well as in other places, but they are such as either never married, or widows, or put away for adultery: for no man will keep such an one to wife.

“In matters of unjust and dishonest dealing the sachim examineth and punisheth the same. In case of thefts, for the first offence he is disgracefully rebuked, for the second beaten by the sachim with a cudgel on the naked back, for the third he is beaten with many strokes, and hath his nose slit upward, that thereby all men may both know and shun him. If any man kill another, he must likewise die for the same. The sachim not only passeth the

sentence upon malefactors, but executeth the same with his own hands, if the party be then present ; if not, sendeth his own knife in case of death, in the hands of others to perform the same. But if the offender be to receive other punishment, he will not receive the same but from the sachim himself, before whom being naked he kneeleth, and will not offer to run away though he beat him never so much, it being a greater disparagement for a man to cry during the time of his correction, than is his offence and punishment.

“As for their apparel they wear breeches and stockings in one like some Irish, which is made of deer skins, and have shoes of the same leather. They wear also a deer skin loose about them like a cloak, which they will turn to the weather side. In this habit they travel, but when they are at home or come to their journey's end, presently they pull off their breeches, stockings, and shoes, wring out the water if they be wet, and dry them, and rub or chafe the same. Though these be off, yet have they another small garment that covereth their secrets. The men wear also when they go abroad in cold weather an otter or fox skin on their right arm, but only their bracer on the left. Women and all of that sex wear strings about their legs, which the men never do.

“The people are very ingenious and observative, they keep account of time by the moon, and winters or summers ; they know divers of the stars by name, in particular, they know the north star and call it maske, which is to say the bear. Also they have many names for the winds. They will guess very well at the wind and weather before hand, by observations in the heavens. They report also, that some of them can cause the wind to blow in what part they list, can raise storms and tempests which they usually do when they intend the death or destruction of other people, that by reason of the unseasonable weather they may take advantage of their enemies in their houses. At such times they perform their greatest exploits, and in such seasons when they are at enmity with any, they keep more careful watch than at other times.

“As for the language, it is very copious, large, and difficult, as yet we cannot attain to any great measure thereof; but can understand them, and explain ourselves to their understanding, by the help of those that daily converse with us. And though there be difference in an hundred miles distance of place, both in language and manners, yet not so much but that they very well understand each other. And thus much of their lives and manners.

“Instead of records and chronicles, they take this course, where any remarkable act is done, in memory of it, either in the place, or by some pathway near adjoining, they make a round hole in the ground about a foot deep, and as much over, which when others passing by behold, they inquire the cause and occasion of the same, which being once known, they are careful to acquaint all men, as occasion serveth therewith. And lest such holes should be filled, or grown up by any accident, as men pass by they will oft renew the same: by which means many things of great antiquity are fresh in memory. So that as a man travelleth, if he can understand his guide, his journey will be the less tedious, by reason of the many historical discourses will be related unto him.

“In all this it may be said, I have neither praised nor dispraised the country: and since I lived so long therein, my judgment thereof will give no less satisfaction to them that know me, than the relation of our proceedings. To which I answer, that as in one so of the other, I will speak as sparingly as I can, yet will make known what I conceive thereof.

“And first for that continent, on which we are called New England, although it hath ever been conceived by the English to be a part of that main land adjoining to Virginia, yet by relation of the Indians it should appear to be otherwise: for they affirm confidently, that it is an island, and that either the Dutch or French pass through from sea to sea, between us and Virginia, and drive a great trade in the same. The name of that inlet of the sea they call Mohegon, which I take to be the same which we call Hudson's River, up which Master Hudson went many leagues, and for want of means (as I hear) left it

undiscovered. For confirmation of this, their opinion is thus much; though Virginia be not above an hundred and fifty leagues from us, yet they never heard of Powhatan, or knew that any English were planted in his country, save only by us and Tisquantum, who went in an English ship thither: and therefore it is the more probable, because the water is not passable for them, who are very adventurous in their boats.

“Then for the temperature of the air, in almost three years' experience, I can scarce distinguish New England from Old England, in respect of heat, and cold, frost, snow, rain, winds, &c. Some object, because our plantation lieth in the latitude of 42 it must needs be much hotter. I confess, I cannot give the reason of the contrary; only experience teacheth us, that if it do exceed England, it is so little as must require better judgments to discern it. And for the winter, I rather think (if there be difference) it is both sharper and longer in New England than Old: and yet the want of those comforts in the one which I have enjoyed in the other, may deceive my judgment also. But in my best observation, comparing our own condition with the relations of other parts of America, I cannot conceive of any to agree better with the constitution of the English, not being oppressed with extremity of heat, nor nipped with biting cold, by which means, blessed be God, we enjoy our health, notwithstanding, those difficulties we have undergone, in such a measure as would have been admired, if we had lived in England with the like means.

“The day is two hours longer than here when it is at the shortest, and as much shorter there, when it is at the longest.

“The soil is variable, in some places mould, in some clay, others, a mixed sand, &c. The chieftest grain is the Indian maize, or Guinea wheat; the seed time beginneth in midst of April, and continueth good till the midst of May. Our harvest beginneth with September. This corn increaseth in great measure, but is inferiour in quantity to the same in Virginia, the reason I conceive, is because Virginia is far hotter than it is with us, it requiring

great heat to ripen; but whereas it is objected against New England, that corn will not there grow, except the ground be manured with fish? I answer, that where men set with fish (as with us) it is more easy so to do than to clear ground and set without some five or six years, and so begin anew, as in Virginia and elsewhere. Not but that in some places, where they cannot be taken with ease in such abundance, the Indians set four years together without, and have as good corn or better than we have that set with them, though indeed I think if we had cattle to till the ground, it would be more profitable and better agreeable to the soil, to sow wheat, rye, barley, peas, and oats, than to set maize, which our Indians call ewachim: for we have had experience that they like and thrive well; and the other will not be procured without good labour and diligence, especially at seed time, when it must be also watched by night to keep the wolves from the fish, till it be rotten, which will be in fourteen days: yet men agreeing together, and taking their turns it is not much.

“Much might be spoken of the benefit that may come to such as shall here plant by trade with the Indians for furs, if men take a right course for obtaining the same, for I dare presume upon that small experience I have had, to affirm, that the English, Dutch, and French, return yearly many thousand pounds profits by trade only from that island, on which we are seated.

“Tobacco may be there planted, but not with that profit as in some other places, neither were it profitable there to follow it, though the increase were equal, because fish is a better and richer commodity, and more necessary, which may be and are there had in as great abundance as in any other part of the world; witness the west country merchants of England, which return incredible gains yearly from thence. And if they can so do which here buy their salt at a great charge, and transport more company to make their voyage, than will sail their ships, what may the planters expect when once they are seated, and make the most of their salt there, and employ themselves at least eight months in fishing, whereas the other

fish but four, and have their ship lie dead in the harbour all the time, whereas such shipping as belong to plantations, may take freight of passengers or cattle thither, and have their lading provided against they come. I confess, we have come so far short of the means to raise such returns, as with great difficulty we have preserved our lives; insomuch, as when I look back upon our condition, and weak means to preserve the same, I rather admire at God's mercy and providence in our preservation, than that no greater things have been effected by us. But though our beginning have been thus raw, small, and difficult, as thou hast seen, yet the same God that hath hitherto led us through the former, I hope will raise means to accomplish the latter. Not that we altogether, or principally propound profit to be the main end of that we have undertaken, but the glory of God, and the honour of our country, in the enlarging of his majesty's dominions, yet wanting outward means, to set things in that forwardness we desire, and to further the latter by the former, I thought meet to offer both to consideration, hoping that where religion and profit jump together (which is rare) in so honourable an action, it will encourage every honest man, either in person or purse, to set forward the same, or at leastwise to commend the welfare thereof in his daily prayers to the blessing of the blessed God.

“I will not again speak of the abundance of fowl, store of venison, and variety of fish, in their seasons, which might encourage many to go in their persons, only I advise all such beforehand to consider, that as they hear of countries that abound with the good creatures of God, so means must be used for the taking of every one in his kind, and therefore not only to content themselves that there is sufficient, but to foresee how they shall be able to obtain the same, otherwise, as he that walketh London streets, though he be in the midst of plenty, yet if he want means, is not the better but hath rather his sorrow increased by the sight of that he wanteth, and cannot enjoy it: so also there, if thou want art and other necessities thereunto belonging, thou mayest see that thou want-

est, and thy heart desireth, and yet be never the better for the same. Therefore if thou see thine own insufficiency of thyself, then join to some others, where thou mayest in some measure enjoy the same, otherwise assure thyself, thou art better where thou art. Some there be that thinking altogether of their present wants they enjoy here, and not dreaming of any there, through indiscretion plunge themselves into a deeper sea of misery. As for example, it may be here, rent and firing are so chargeable, as without great difficulty a man cannot accomplish the same; never considering, that as he shall have no rent to pay, so he must build his house before he have it, and peradventure may with more ease pay for his fuel here, than cut and fetch it home, if he have not cattle to draw it there; though there is no scarcity but rather too great plenty.

“I write not these things to dissuade any that shall seriously upon due examination set themselves to further the glory of God, and the honour of our country, in so worthy an enterprise, but rather to discourage such as with too great lightness undertake such courses, who peradventure strain themselves and their friends for their passage thither, and are no sooner there, than seeing their foolish imagination made void, are at their wits' end, and would give ten times so much for their return, if they could procure it, and out of such discontented passions and humours, spare not to lay that imputation upon the country, and others, which themselves deserve.

“As for example, I have heard some complain of others for their large reports of New England, and yet because they must drink water and want many delicacies they here enjoyed, could presently return with their mouths full of clamours. And can any be so simple as to conceive that the fountains should stream forth wine, or beer, or the woods and rivers be like butchers' shops, or fishmongers' stalls, where they might have things taken to their hands. If thou canst not live without such things, and hast no means to procure the one, and wilt not take pains for the other, nor hast ability to employ others for thee, rest where thou art: for as a proud heart, a dainty

tooth, a beggar's purse, and an idle hand, be here intolerable, so that person that hath these qualities there, is much more abominable. If therefore God hath given thee a heart to undertake such courses, upon such grounds as bear thee out in all difficulties. viz. his glory as a principal, and all other outward good things but as accessories, which peradventure thou shalt enjoy, and it may be not : then thou wilt with true comfort and thankfulness receive the least of his mercies ; whereas on the contrary, men deprive themselves of much happiness, being senseless of greater blessings, and through prejudice smother up the love and bounty of God, whose name be ever glorified in us, and by us, now and evermore. Amen.

FINIS.



A Postscript.

“ If any man desire a more ample relation of the state of this country, before such time as this present relation taketh place, I refer them to the two former printed books : the one published by the President and Council for New England, and the other gathered by the inhabitants of this present plantation at Plimouth in New England : both which books are to be sold by John Bellamy, at his shop at the three golden lions in Corn-hill near the Royal Exchange.”

A PERFECT DESCRIPTION OF VIRGINIA :

Being a full and true Relation of the present state of the Plantation, their health, peace, and plenty : the number of people, with their abundance of cattle, fowl, fish, &c. with several sorts of rich and good commodities, which may there be had, either naturally, or by art and labour. Which we are fain to procure from Spain, France, Denmark, Swedeland, Germany, Poland, yea, from the East Indies. There having been nothing related of the true estate of this Plantation these twenty-five years.

Being sent from Virginia, at the request of a gentleman of worthy note, who desired to know the true state of Virginia as it now stands.

Also, a Narration of the country, within a few days' journey of Virginia, west and by south, where people come to trade : being related to the governour, Sir William Berckley, who is to go himself to discover it with thirty horse, and fifty foot, and other things needful for his enterprise.

With the manner how the Emperour Nichotawance came to Sir William Berckley, attended with five petty kings, to do homage, and bring tribute to King Charles. With his solemn protestation, that the sun and moon should lose their lights, before he (or his people in that country) should prove disloyal, but ever to keep faith and allegiance to King Charles.

LONDON: Printed for Richard Wodenoth, at the Star under Peter's Church in Cornhill. 1649.



THESE things that follow in this ensuing relation are certified by divers letters from Virginia, by men of worth and credit there, written to a friend in England, that for his own, and other's satisfaction, was desirous to know these particulars, and the present estate of that country. And let no man doubt of the truth of it, there be many in England, land and seamen that can bear witness of it. And if this plantation be not worth encouragement, let every true Englishman judge.

1. THAT there are in Virginia about fifteen thousand English, and of negroes brought thither, three hundred good servants.

2. That of kine, oxen, bulls, calves, twenty thousand, large and good, and they make plenty of butter and very good cheese.

3. That there are of an excellent race, about two hundred horse and mares.

4. That of asses for burthen and use, there is fifty, but daily increase.

5. That for sheep they have about three thousand, good wool.

6. That for goats their number is five thousand, thrive well.

7. That for swine both tame and wild (in the woods) innumerable; the flesh pure and good, and bacon none better.

8. That for poultry, hens, turkies, ducks, geese, without number.

9. That they yearly plough and sow many hundred acres of wheat, as good, and fair, as any in the world, and great increase.

10. That they have plenty of barley, make excellent malt.

11. That they have six publick brew-houses, and most brew their own beer, strong and good.

12. That their hops are fair and large, thrive well.

13. That they sell their beef at two pence half-penny a pound, pork at three pence a pound, plentifully.

14. That their cattle are about the prices in England, and most of the ships that come yearly hither, are there victualed.

15. That they have thirty several sorts of fish, river, and sea, very excellent good in their kinds, plentiful and large.

16. That they have five and twenty sundry sorts of birds and fowls, land and water abundance, and for food not amiss.

17. That they have twenty kind of beasts, whereof deer abundance, most sorts to be eaten; creeping creatures many also.

18. That they have fifteen kinds of fruits, pleasant and good, and with Italy they will compare for delicate fruits.

19 That they have five and twenty sorts of trees, large, good and fit for shipping, housing, and other uses.

20. That they have roots of several kinds, potatoes, asparagus, carrots, turnips, parsnips, onions, and artichokes.

22. For herbs they have of all kinds for garden, and physick flowers.

23. That their maize or Virginia corn, it yields them five hundred for one, increase, (it's set as we do garden peas) it makes good bread and furmity, will keep seven years, and malts well for beer, and ripe in five months, set in April or May.

24. That they have store of Indian peas, better than ours, beans, lupines, and the like.

25. They have store of bees in their woods, make plenty of honey and wax, and also tame bees in hives about their houses.

26. Indigo begins to be planted, and thrives wonderfully well, grows up to a little tree, and rich indigo made of the leaves of it, all men begins to get some of the seeds, and know it will be oftentimes the gain to them as tobacco (and gain now carries the bell;) their hopes are great to gain the trade of it from the Mogul's country, and to supply all christendom, and this will be many thousands of pounds in the year.

27. Their tobacco is much vented and esteemed in all places, yet the quantity's so great that's made, that the price there is but thrée pence a pound. A man can plant two thousand weight a year of it, and also sufficient corn and roots, and other provisions for himself.

28. They begin to plant much hemp and flax which they find grows well and good, only hands are wanting to this and other works.

29. Iron ore and rich mine are in abundance in the land, fit streams and waters to erect iron mills, woods never to be destroyed to burn coal, and all this lie on great rivers' banks, easy for transportation of wood and ore, and there is stone fit to build the furnaces with; trial hath been made of this iron ore, and not better and richer in the world; his work erected would be as much worth as

a silver mine, all things considered ; not only to make all instruments of iron for the plantation's uses, but for building, shipping, there being wanting in that country no other materials to that work ; then the casting of ordnance, and making them, will abound to serve all the world ; so of muskets, armour, all kind of tools, and manufacture of iron works will be produced in abundance, so that it would become speedily the magazine of iron instruments in every kind, and at cheap rates ; so that no nation could afford them half so cheap, and all men know, that iron will command better mines.

20. Skilful iron-men for the works sent out of England, with the assistance of as many more able labourers there in Virginia, housing and victual ready provided for them ; fitting places for erecting, the mills found out already, and oxen for draught at hand, the work in six months' time, would be effected, and four hundred pound charge to transport the twenty men to Virginia, with all tools and necessaries for the work would do it ; and these men for their encouragement to have half the gain made of the iron to be yearly divided betwixt the undertakers and workmen, the profit and gain would be to the enriching of all.

30. They have four wind mills, and five water mills to grind their corn ; besides many horse mills of several kinds, and hand mills for several uses ; a sawing mill for boards is much wanted ; one mill driven by water, will do as much as twenty sawyers, &c.

31. There comes yearly to trade with them above thirty sail of ships, and in these not so little as seven or eight hundred mariners employed, (some say above a thousand, this is a considerable thing) and they return laden home in March ; (this is a good seminary for mariners.)

32. The commodity these ships bring, is linen cloth of all sorts, and so of woollen cloth, stockings, shoes, and the like things.

33. Most of the masters of ships and chief mariners have also there plantations, and houses, and servants, &c. in Virginia : and so are every way great gainers by freight, by merchandise, and by plantation and pipe staves, clap board,

choice walnut tree wood, cedar tree timber and the like, is transported by them if tobacco is not their full lading.

34. They have in their colony pinnaces, barks, great and small boats many hundreds, for most of their plantations stand upon the rivers' sides or up little creeks, and but a small way into the land, so that for transportation and fishing they use many boats.

35. They make pitch and tar, (and there is materials in the woods for abundance :) also for pot and soap ashes, woods most proper and store : hands want.

36. That for mulberry trees, the natural and proper food for silk worms, they have abundance in the woods, and some so large that one tree contains as many leaves as will feed silk worms that will make as much silk as may be worth five pounds sterling money, this some Frenchmen affirm. And now they desire silk worms' seed which is sent them, and their hopes are good of the thriving of it ; a commodity that may soon enrich them all with little labour, care or pains ; all materials so plentiful and at hand, the food in abundance, the climate warm, and the work done in five weeks' time, and within doors, by women and children as well as men, and at that time of the year in May, that it hinders not any other work or planting, sowing, or the like employments ; such an advantage, that had the Dutch the like in any of their plantations, they would improve it to the certain gain in the trade of silk from Persia and China, which we fetch with great charge and expense and hazard, and enrich heathen and Mahumetans greatly ; but to these things lack publick and state encouragements to begin the work : but more of this in another place, it deserves a full handling.

37. Vines in abundance and variety, do grow naturally over all the land, but by the birds and beasts, most devoured before they come to perfection and ripeness ; but this testifies and declares, that the ground and the climate is most proper, and the commodity of wine is not a contemptible merchandise ; but some men of worth and estate must give in these things example to the inferiour inhabitants and ordinary sort of men, to shew them the gain and commodity by it, which they will not believe

but by experience before their faces : and in tobacco they can make 20 £. sterling a man, at 3*d*. a pound per annum ; and this they find and know, and the present gain is that, that puts out all endeavours from the attempting of others more staple, and solid, and rich commodities, out of the heads and hands of the common people : so as I say, the wealthier sort of men must begin and give the example, and make the gain of other commodities as apparent to them, by the effecting them to perfection, or it will not (as it hath not hitherto) go forward.

38. That they have health very well, and fewer die in a year there, according to the proportion, than in any place of England ; since that men are provided with all necessities, have plenty of victual, bread, and good beer, and housing, all which the Englishmen loves full dearly.

39. That the passengers also come safe and well : the seamen of late years having found a way, that now in five, six, and seven weeks they sail to Virginia free from all rocks, sands, and pirates ; and that they return home again in twenty days sometimes, and thirty at most : the winds commonly serving more constantly, being westerly homeward, the easterly outward bound.

40. That the mouth of the two capes of land, Cape Henry on the south, and Cape Charles on the north ; the entrance in is in 37 degrees : that the first river up the west is James River, where most of the plantations are settled and towns : the second is Charles River on the north of it ; and the third called by the Indian name Tapahanuke, the fourth river Patawoenicke, the fifth river Patuxant, the sixth Bolus, the seventh Saquisahanuke : at the head of the great Bay of Chespiacke, into which bay these seven rivers from the west side of it do all enter and run into, and so the mouth of the bay issueth out due east into the main sea between the two aforesaid capes ; the bay lies north and south, and hath a channel in draught of one hundred and forty miles, and in depth between five, six, and fifteen fathoms in some places. The wideness of the bay is from the west side which is the great land, to the east side of the land which joins upon the sea called the Acamake shore ; the wideness and breadth of this bay I say, is about nine,

ten, and fourteen miles broad in some places of it; and these seven rivers have their mouths into the bay, not above twenty miles, each river is distant from the other; but this in Smith's map is more at large described.

41. That some English about a thousand are seated upon the Acamake shore by Cape Charles, (where Captain Yeardley is chief commander) now called the county of Northampton.

42. That they have lime in abundance made for their houses, store of bricks made, and house and chimnies built of brick, and some wood high and fair, covered with shingle for tile, yet they have none that make them, wanting workmen; in that trade the brick makers have not the art to do it, it shrinketh.

43. That since the massacre, the savages have been driven far away, many destroyed of them, their towns and houses ruined, their clear grounds possessed by the English to sow wheat in: and their great king Opechaukenow (that bloody monster upon a hundred years old) was taken by Sir William Berkely the governour.

44. All kinds of tradesmen may live well there, and do gain much by their labours and arts, as turners, potters, coopers; to make all kind of earthen and wooden vessels, sawyers, carpenters, tile makers, boat-wrights, tailors, shoemakers, tanners, fishermen, and the like.

45. Young youths from sixteen years and upward, for apprentices and servants for some years, then to have land given them, and cattle to set up. Thousands of these kinds of young boys and maidens wanting.

46. That the government is after the laws of England, (that is well for men before they go, to know under what laws they shall live; a governour and council of state, and yearly general assemblies, men chosen and sent out of each county, (there being twelve in Virginia; these men vote, and by the major part all things are concluded; and they are elected to those places by the most voices in the county for whom they are chosen, and by whom sent.

47. They have twenty churches in Virginia, and ministers to each, and the doctrine and orders after the church

of England : the ministers' livings are esteemed worth at least 100 £. per annum ; they are paid by each planter so much tobacco per poll, and so many bushels of corn : they live all in peace and love.

48. That for matter of their better knowledge of the land they dwell in, the planters resolve to make a further discovery into the country, west and by south up above the fall, and over the hills, and are confident upon what they have learned from the Indians, to find a way to a west or south sea by land or rivers, and to discover a way to China and East Indies, or unto some other sea that shall carry them thither ; for Sir Francis Drake was on the back side of Virginia in his voyage about the world in 37 degrees just opposite to Virginia, and called Nova Albion, and by the natives kindly used : and now all the question is only how broad the land may be to that place from the head of James River above the falls, but all men conclude if it be not narrow, yet that there is and will be found the like rivers issuing into a south sea or a west sea on the other side of those hills, as there is on this side when they run from the west down into a east sea after a course of one hundred and fifty miles ; but of this certainty M. Hen. Briggs that most judicious and learned mathematician wrote a small tractate, and presented it to that most noble Earl of Southampton then governour of the Virginia Company in England, anno 1623, to which I refer for a full information.

And by such a discovery the planters in Virginia shall gain the rich trade of the East India, and so cause it to be driven through the continent of Virginia, part by land and part by water, and in a most gainful way and safe, and far less expenseful and dangerous, than now it is.

And they doubt not to find some rich and beneficial country, and commodities not yet known to the world that lies west and by south now from their present plantation.

49. That the Swedes have come and crept into a river called Delawar, that is, within the limits of Virginia in 38 degrees and 30 minutes, it lies, and are there planted, one hundred of them drive a great and secret trade of furs, which they trade for with the natives : it is but two days'

journey by land from our plantations, and a day's sail by sea from Cape Charles.

50. And again, the Hollanders have stolen into a river called Hudson's River in the limits also of Virginia (and about 39 degrees) they have built a strong fort there, and call it Prince Maurice and New Netherlands, they drive a trade of furs there with the natives for above ten thousand pounds a year.

These two plantations are between Virginia and New England on our side of Cape Cod which parts us and New England.

Thus are the English nosed in all places, and out-traded by the Dutch, they would not suffer the English to use them so : but they have vigilant statesmen, and advance all they can for a common good, and will not spare any encouragements to their people to discover.

But it is well known, that our English plantations have had little countenances, nay, that our statesmen (when time was) had store of Gundemore's gold to destroy and discountenance the plantation of Virginia, and he effected it in a great part, by dissolving the company, wherein most of the nobility, gentry, corporate cities, and most merchants of England, were interested and engaged ; after the expense of some hundred of thousands of pounds : for Gundemore did affirm to his friends, that he had commission from his master to ruin that plantation. For, said he, should they thrive and go on increasing, as they have done under the government of that popular L. of Southampton, my master's West Indies, and his Mexico would shortly be visited by sea and by land, from those planters in Virginia. And Marquis Hambleton told the Earl of Southampton, that Gundemore said to King James, that the Virginia courts, was but a seminary to a seditious parliament. But this is but a touch by the way, and for a future item to our country not to despise plantations.

51. The land in Virginia is most fruitful, and produceth, with very great increase, whatsoever is committed into the bowels of it, planted, sowed. A fat rich soil

every where watered with many fine springs, small rivulets, and wholesome waters.

52. The country is with pleasant rising small ascents and descents, valleys, hills, meadows, and some level upland: it's woody all over, but where labour hath cleared the ground from trees, and this truly is the great labour in Virginia, to fell trees, and to get up the roots, and so make clear ground for the plough.

53. Stones, and rocks, and quarries of several kinds, and very fit for the iron furnaces, (as trial hath been made to endure fire) are in divers places found in Virginia.

54. There is divers skins of beasts for merchandise and uses, as beavers, otters, squirrels, wild-cats, and chrystal is there found.

55. Divers kind of drugs, gums, dyes, paints, that the Indians use.

56. There is a kind of flax the Indians use to make threads of and strings, we call it silk-grass, it's fine to make both linen and stuff of it; abundance in many places of it groweth.

57. To the southward of James River, some fifty miles by land, and eighty by sea, lies the River Chawanok: whither Master Porey went by land, and reported, the king there told him, that within ten days' journey westward towards sunsetting, there were a people that did gather out of a river sand, the which they washed in sieves, and had a thing out of it, that they then put into the fire, which melted, and became like to our copper, and offered to send some of his people to guide him to that place. But Master Porey being not provided with men as he would have had of English, he returned to Sir George Yearly, and acquainted him with the relation. But before they could prepare for the journey, and discovery, the first massacre happened, and so to this day it hath been unattempted. The company also in England was dissolved, their patent most unjustly, against all law and conscience, taken from them. Procured by the Spanish gold and faction, and the colony never looked after, whether sink or swim; and hath now these twenty-four years

since, laboured for life, and only to subsist with much ado ; the cattle then left, increased to what you hear, and in all these many years no more people in it, and they having little encouragement, and great uncertainties, whether ever to be continued a colony, whereby men have had no heart to plant for posterity, but every man for the present, planted tobacco to get a livelihood by it.

And had not this present governour been sent as he was, and continued, who hath done all a gentleman could do to maintain it alive ; it had upon this second massacre been utterly deserted and ruined ; as things stand in our own land. If any demand the cause of this late massacre, all having been forgiven and forgotten, what the Indians did the first time ; those that are planters there, write the occasion of the Indians doing so wicked an act was. ¶ That some of them confessed, that their great king was by some English informed, that all was under the sword in England, in their native country, and such divisions in our land ; that now was his time, or never, to root out all the English : for those that they could not surprise and kill under the feigned mask of friendship and feasting, and the rest would be by wants ; and having no supplies from their own country which could not help them, be suddenly consumed and famished. The Indians alaruming them night and day, and killing all their cattle, as with ease they might do, and by destroying in the nights, all their corn fields, which the English could not defend. All this had (as they write) taken full effect, if God had not abated the courages of the savages in that moment of time, they so treacherously slew the English ; who were presently (the act done) so affrighted in their own minds, that they had not the heart to follow the counsels their king had commanded :. but to the admiration of the English, prosecuted not their opportunity, nor were constant to their own principles. But fled away and retired themselves many miles distant off the colony ; which little space of time gave the English opportunity to gather themselves together, call an assembly, secure their cattle, and to think upon some way to defend themselves, if

need were, and then to offend their enemies ; which by the great mercy of God was done and effected ; and the particulars of all is worthy in some other place to be remembered and manifested to the world, that the great God may have his due glory, honour, and praise for ever and ever, Amen, amen, amen. And now at this present the colony is in good estate (and never a third time to be so surprised by a seeming friend.) And they conclude, their conditions are now, such as they may and will greatly improve the advancement and welfare of the colony, even by this late sad accident ; and the pit their enemies digged for them, they are like to fall into themselves, and their mischief will and hath assuredly fallen far more upon their own pates ; since their great king was taken prisoner.

And in these, they say in three letters, that if God please, in mercy, now to look upon poor England, that it fall not into a second war, nor relapses, but a happy peace settled in their native country. Then they in Virginia shall be as happy a people as any under heaven, for there is nothing wanting there to produce them, plenty, health, and wealth.

58. Concerning New England, that they have trade with them to and fro, and are but four days' sail off from Virginia, that they have had many cattle from Virginia, and corn, and many other things ; that New England, is in a good condition for livelihood. But for matter of any great hopes but fishing, there is not much in that land ; for it's as Scotland is to England, so much difference, and lies upon the same land northward, as Scotland doth to England ; there is much cold, frost and snow, and their land so barren, except a herring be put into the hole that you set the corn or maize in, it will not come up ; and it was great pity, all those people being now about twenty thousand, did not seat themselves at first to the south of Virginia, in a warm and rich country, where their industry would have produced sugar, indigo, ginger, cotton, and the like commodities.

And it's now reported in Virginia that thousands of them are removing (with many from Summer Islands also) unto the Bahana Islands, near the Cape of Florida ; and that's the right way for them to go and thrive.

Letters came now this March, 1648, relate further.

THAT Opachankenow the old emperour being dead since he was taken prisoner by our governour, there is chosen a new one, called Nickotawance, who acknowledges to hold his government under King Charles, and is become tributary to him, and this March, 1648, Nickotawance came to Jamestown, to our noble governour Sir William Bearkley with five more petty kings attending him, and brought twenty beavers' skins to be sent to King Charles as he said for tribute ; and after a long oration, he concluded with this protestation ; that the sun and moon should first lose their glorious lights and shining, before he, or his people, should evermore hereafter wrong the English in any kind, but they would ever hold love and friendship together ; and to give the English better assurance of their faith, he had decreed, that if any Indian be seen to come within the limits of the English colony, (except they come with some message from him, with such and such tokens) that it shall be lawful to kill them presently ; and the English shall be free to pass at all times when and where they please throughout his dominions.

And the Indians have of late acquainted our governour, that within five days' journey to the westward and by south, there is a great high mountain, and at foot thereof, great rivers that run into a great sea ; and that there are men that come hither in ships, (but not the same as ours be) they wear apparel and have *reed caps on their heads, and ride on beasts like our horses, but have much longer ears and other circumstances they declare for the certainty of these things.

* Red?

That Sir William was hereupon preparing fifty horse and fifty foot, to go and discover this thing himself in person, and take all needful provision in that case requisite along with him : he was ready to go when these last ships set sail for England in April last ; and we hope to give a good account of it by the next ships, God giving a blessing to the enterprise, which will mightily advance and enrich this country ; for it must needs prove a passage to the South Sea (as we call it) and also some part of China and the East Indies.

The governour Sir William, caused half a bushel of rice (which he had procured) to be sown and it prospered gallantly, and he had fifteen bushels of it, excellent good rice, so that all these fifteen bushels will be sown again this year ; and we doubt not in a short time to have rice so plentiful as to afford it at 2*d.* a pound if not cheaper, for we perceive the ground and climate is very proper for it as our negroes affirm, which in their country is most of their food, and very healthful for our bodies.

We have many thousand of acres of clear land, I mean where the wood is all off it (for you must know all Virginia is full of trees) and we have now going near upon a hundred and fifty ploughs, with many brave yoke of oxen, and we sow excellent wheat, barley, rye, beans, peas, oats ; and our increase is wonderful, and better grain not in the world.

One Captain Brocas, a gentleman of the council, a great traveller, caused a vineyard to be planted, and hath most excellent wine made, and the country, he saith, as proper for vines as any in christendom, vines indeed naturally growing over all the country in abundance : only skilful men wanting here.

That at last Christmas we had trading here ten ships from London, two from Bristol, twelve Hollanders, and seven from New England.

Mr. Richard Bennet had this year out of his orchard as many apples as he made twenty butts of excellent cider.

And Mr. Richard Kinsman hath had for this three or four years, forty or fifty butts of perry made out of his orchard, pure and good.

So that you may perceive how proper our country is for these fruits, and men begin now to plant great orchards, and find the way of grafting upon crab stocks, best for lasting, here being naturally in this land store of wild crab trees.

Mr. Hough at Nausamund, hath a curious orchard also, with all kind and variety of several fruits ; the governour in his new orchard hath fifteen hundred fruit trees, besides his apricots, peaches, mellicotons, quinces, wardens, and such like fruits.

I mention these particular men, that all may know the truth of things.

Worthy Captain Matthews an old planter of above thirty years' standing, one of the council, and a most deserving commonwealth's man, I may not omit to let you know this gentleman's industry.

He hath a fine house, and all things answerable to it : he sows yearly store of hemp and flax, and causes it to be spun ; he keeps weavers, and hath a tan house, causes leather to be dressed, hath eight shoemakers employed in their trade, hath forty negro servants, brings them up to trades in his house ; he yearly sows abundance of wheat, barley, &c. the wheat he selleth at four shillings the bushel, kills store of beeves, and sells them to victual the ships when they come thither : hath abundance of kine, a brave dairy, swine great store, and poultry ; he married the daughter of Sir Thomas Hinton, and in a word, keeps a good house, lives bravely, and a true lover of Virginia ; he is worthy of much honour.

Our spring begins the tenth of February, the trees bud, the grass springs, and our autumn and fall of leaf is in November, our winter short, and most years very gentle, snow lies but little, yet ice some years.

I may not forget to tell you we have a free school, with two hundred acres of land, a fine house upon it, forty milch kine, and other accommodations to it : the benefactor deserves perpetual memory ; his name Mr. Benjamin Symes, worthy to be chronicled ; other petty schools also we have.

We have most rare coloured parraketoës, and one bird we call the mock-bird ; for he will imitate all other birds' notes, and cries both day and night birds, yea, the owls and nightingales.

For bees there is in the country which thrive and prosper very well there : one Mr. George Pelton, alias, Strayton, a ancient planter of twenty-five years' standing that had store of them, he made thirty pounds a year profit of them ; but by misfortune his house was burnt down, and many of his hives perished, he makes excellent good metheglin, a pleasant and strong drink, and it serves him and his family for good liquor ; If men would endeavour to increase this kind of creature, there would be here in a short time abundance of wax and honey, for there is all the country over delicate food for bees, and there is also bees naturally in the land, though we account not of them.

59. Now these are the several sorts and kinds of beasts, birds, fish, in Virginia.

Beasts great and small as followeth ; above twenty several kinds.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lions. 2. Bears. 3. Leopard. 4. Elks. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. Foxes. 7. Wild-cats. 8. Rackoons, as good meat as lamb. 9. Passonnes. This beast hath a bag under her belly into which she takes her young ones, if at any time affrighted, and carries them away. |
|---|--|
- But all these four sorts are up in the higher parts of the country, on the hills and mountains, few to be seen in the lower parts where the English are ; the elks are as great as oxen, their horns six foot wide, and have two calves at a time ; the skins make good buff, and the flesh as good as beef.
- | | |
|--|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Deer. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 10. Two sorts of squirrels. One called a flying one, for that she spreads like a bat a certain loose skin she hath and so flies a good way. |
|--|---|

- | | |
|---|---|
| 13. A musk-rat, so called
for his great sweetness
and shape.
14. Hares.
15. Beavers.
16. Otters.
17. Dogs, but bark not, af-
ter the shape of a wolf,
and foxes smell not;
wolves but little, neither
not fierce. | 18. Wolves.
19. Martins, pole-cats, wea-
sels, minks: but these
vermin hurt not hens,
chickens or eggs, at any
time.
20. A little beast like a co-
ny, the foxes kill many
of them. |
|---|---|

Birds are these, viz. above twenty-five several kinds.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Eagles.
2. Hawks of six several
kinds.
3. Partridges many.
4. Wild turkies, some
weighing sixty pound
weight.
5. Red-birds, that sing
rarely.
6. Nightingales.
7. Blue-birds, smaller than
a wren.
8. Black-birds.
9. Thrushes.
10. Heath-cocks.
11. Swans.
12. Cranes. | 13. Herons.
14. Geese.
15. Brants.
16. Ducks.
17. Widgeons.
18. Dotterels.
19. Oxeyes.
20. Parrots.
21. Pigeons.
22. Owls.
Many more that have no
English names; for one
called the mock-bird,
that counterfeits all oth-
er several birds' cries
and tunes. |
|--|---|

Fish are these in their kind, above thirty sorts.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Cod.
2. Bass.
3. Drums six foot long.
4. Sheepsheads, this fish,
makes broth so like
mutton broth, that the | difference is hardly
known.
5. Conger.
6. Eels.
7. Trouts.
8. Mulletts. |
|---|--|

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------|
| 9. Plaice. | 21. Lampries. |
| 10. Grampus. | 22. Craw-fish. |
| 11. Porpus. | 23. Shads. |
| 12. Scales. | 24. Perch. |
| 13. Sturgeons, of ten foot
long. | 25. Crabs. |
| 14. Stingraes. | 26. Shrimps. |
| 15. Brets. | 27. Crecy-fish. |
| 16. White salmon. | 28. Oysters. |
| 17. Soles. | 29. Cockles. |
| 18. Herring. | 30. Muscles. |
| 19. Cony-fish. | 31. St. George-fish. |
| 20. Rock-fish. | 32. Toad-fish. |

Trees above twenty kinds, and many no English names.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Oaks red & white wood. | 8. Chesnut trees. |
| 2. Ash. | 9. Plum trees of many
kinds. |
| 3. Walnut, two kinds. | 10. The puchamine tree. |
| 4. Elms. | 11. The laurel. |
| 5. Cedar. | 12. Cherries. |
| 6. Cypress three fathoms
about. | 13. Crahes. |
| 7. Mulberry trees great
and good. | 14. Vines. |
| | 15. Sassafras. |

Fruits they have, strawberries, gooseberries, raspberries, maracokos, puchamines, muskmellons, pumpions; and for fruits brought thither and planted. Apples, pears, quinces, apricots, peaches; and many more kinds excellent good, &c.

FINIS.

STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF THE TOWN OF MIDDLEBURY, IN THE STATE OF VERMONT. PART FIRST. BY FREDERICK HALL, PROFESSOR OF MATHEMATICS AND NATURAL PHILOSOPHY IN MIDDLEBURY COLLEGE, FELLOW OF THE AMERICAN AND CONNECTICUT ACADEMIES OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, OF THE AMERICAN GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE LINNÆAN SOCIETY OF NEW ENGLAND, AND HONORARY MEMBER OF THE LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF NEW YORK.

MIDDLEBURY, a post town, and the capital of Addison county, is situated on both sides of Otter Creek, north by west from Rutland thirty-two miles, south-east from Vergennes eleven, and five hundred and eleven north-east from the city of Washington. The centre of the town is about fourteen miles east from Lake Champlain.

The latitude of the court house is $43^{\circ}, 49', 51''$, north. Its longitude, west from Greenwich, is $73^{\circ}, 10', 15''$.

Boundaries.

On the north, the township is bounded by New Haven and Bristol; on the west, by Cornwall and Weybridge; on the south, by Salisbury, and on the east, by Ripton.

The boundary lines from north to south are a little more than six miles in length; those running from east to west, about seven. The town contains not far from forty-two square miles, or twenty-six thousand eight hundred and eighty acres. It extends over the summit of the western ridge of the Green Mountain.

Charter.

Its charter was granted by Benning Wentworth, governor of New Hampshire, November 2, 1761; that state then claiming the whole territory, lying between Connecticut River and Lake Champlain.

Rivers.

Middlebury River, or, at least, a principal branch of it, has its origin in the town of Hancock, passes through

Goshen, and a corner of Ripton, and directing its course to the westward, mingles its waters, in the south part of Middlebury, with those of Otter Creek. The turnpike road from Vergennes to Windsor is, for a considerable distance, built on, or near, one of the banks of this stream, which presents to the traveller's eye a number of highly romantick prospects. It meets the river, and crosses it, at the foot of the mountain, a little east of the glass factory.

From that point, in ascending, you keep in the vicinity of the stream, for more than a mile, hearing, constantly, the murmuring sound of the water, pouring down the cliffs, situated far beneath you. It is, in several places, not less than one hundred and fifty feet lower than the road; and yet a line, falling perpendicularly, on the middle of the stream, would not be more than half that distance from the centre of the highway. This deep canal, lined on both sides by lofty forest trees, and exhibiting, all along, immense blocks of grey limestone, was, in all probability, produced by the operation of water. The length of the period requisite for its generation, we have not the means of determining; though there is reason to believe, that many centuries have elapsed, since the work commenced.

There was, doubtless, a time, when the waters, flowing down from the higher parts of the mountain, met obstructions, which, during numerous years, were insurmountable. Small lakes or ponds were thus formed. The earthy and vegetable matter, brought by the water from the high lands, was here deposited. In consequence of successive deposits, the bottom of these ponds gradually rose, and, after the waters had attained to a certain height, they attacked the natural mound, where it was least impregnable, and opening for themselves a channel, flowed off, and left the land naked, on which they had quietly reposed for ages. A number of small level tracts are to be seen on the mountain, which are manifestly alluvial, and which were formed, it is likely, in the manner above described.

This rivulet, winding its way along the mountain, furnishes trout, (*salmo solar*) in abundance. The fish are

small, often weighing less than an ounce a piece, but are remarkably tender, and of an excellent flavour. They are caught in the summer, dressed, and brought to this village for sale. The price varies from nine to twelve cents a pound.

A large proportion of the land, contiguous to Middlebury River, or in its vicinity, after it leaves the mountain, is also alluvial. Logs, three feet in diameter, have been discovered five or six feet below the surface, while the earth above them was covered with forest trees, which must have been some centuries in arriving at their enormous magnitude;—a sufficient proof of the high antiquity at which the first deposite was made. I am informed by Joshua Hyde, Esq. a proprietor of the land, and one of the earliest inhabitants of the town, that in digging wells near this river, after penetrating the vegetable mould, which is not deep, and after passing through a stratum of fine sand, five or six feet in thickness, you come to a bed of coarser sand, in which water, at no great depth, is invariably found.

The land adjoining this stream is level, easily tilled, and yields fine crops of grass and grain. It is, however, less productive, at present, than it was immediately after its natural growth was removed.

But the principal river, of which Middlebury can boast, is *Otter Creek*;—a name, probably, derived from the circumstance of its haying, formerly, been much frequented by the otter. It is a river of considerable size; being one hundred and seventy-five feet in width opposite my house. For twenty miles, towards its source, it is uncommonly deep, for so narrow a stream, and its current remarkably moderate. In the spring, when the snow on the mountain is dissolving, it is navigable with boats, of several tons burden, from Pittsford to Middlebury—a distance of twenty-four miles. Logs sufficient to keep two saw mills in operation, during most of the year; together with a large quantity of wood for fuel, and cedar posts for fence, are brought down in rafts. Most of the wood, destined to supply our fires, is landed more than a mile above the village, and conveyed to it, in summer, or

autumn, on carts and wagons. This is sold, at this time, at \$1,50 a cord.

But few fish are found in this stream. Though *trout* exist, in multitudes, in the shallow, rapid, pellucid waters of Middlebury River, they seldom venture down into the deep, and often turbid waters of Otter Creek. *Perch* (*perca fluviatilis*) have been occasionally caught, and a few trout. Eels (*muræna anguilla*) are tolerably numerous. They seem partial to deep water which rests, as this does in many places, on a muddy bottom: they are taken with hooks. Near the water, a fire is kindled in the evening, by which they are drawn from their slimy lurking places, and enabled to see the bait. An experienced angler informs me, that he has, the past summer, frequently caught some, which weighed from five to seven pounds each.

Two years since, a number of gentlemen, in this and the neighbouring towns, formed the project of transferring several kinds of fish from Lake Champlain to Otter Creek, hoping that they would multiply there, and thus produce a publick benefit. The experiment was made. A number of pike, (*esax lucius*) or pickerel, bass, (*perca ocellata*) perch, and *sheepshead*, were, at different places, thrown into the creek. A confident expectation is entertained, that they will propagate and flourish in this stream, but a sufficient time has not elapsed fully to settle the question.

The waters of Otter Creek must, at some ancient epoch, have overspread a much larger surface than they occupy at the present day. For many miles above this place, most of the land, within a few rods of the stream, on one side, or on the other, and sometimes on both, is, beyond contradiction, alluvial. At certain points, the alluvion extends back fifty or sixty rods from the present channel. In causing a ditch to be dug, the past season, about forty rods long, in this *made land*, I had a good opportunity to examine the different kinds of earth, thrown up, in different places. In some, it was a fine siliceous sand, nearly pure, and could not be, in the least, affected by diluted nitric, or sulphuric acid. In others, it was a mixture of sand, clay and limestone. By dropping on it a little ni-

tric acid, a brisk effervescence was produced. In one place, the earth was of a reddish colour and gave a strong odour of sulphur, which probably arose from the decomposition of sulphuret of iron, brought, perhaps, by the water, from Brandon, or Pittsford, where this ore abounds.

Between Middlebury and Vergennes, the navigation is prevented by several water falls. There is one, in this village, where the whole mass of water descends, perpendicularly, at a single leap, twenty feet. This cataract, in consequence of the numerous admirable situations which it affords for mills of all descriptions, may, with propriety, be regarded as one of the leading sources of the wealth and prosperity of the town. A bridge, forming a communication between the eastern and western parts of the borough, has been thrown across the creek, a few feet above the falls.

A number of manufacturing establishments, whose machinery is impelled by water, have been erected in the vicinity of the bridge. I shall commence with a description of the

Manufactories

situated on the *eastern* side of the river.

The first is a grist mill, owned by Nathan Wood & Co. It is of stone, and the form of its base is that of an L. Its length, on the side next the water, is forty-five feet; on the east side seventy-six; on the street forty-five, and it contains five sets of stones, with screens and other apparatus, moving with sufficient power to manufacture into flour eighty thousand bushels of grain annually. The situation of this mill is singular; and the plan, in part new, was formed by an ingenious architect, Mr. Lavius Filmore, to whom I am indebted for the following particulars relating to it. It stands on a solid rock, projecting into the creek about thirty feet up-stream from the falls.

After levelling the rock sufficiently for the foundation of the building, a vault was cut in it forty-three feet long, twenty-five deep, and eighteen wide, which brought it nearly even with the surface of the water at the foot of the cataract. Then an inlet was formed, twenty-five feet

in length, through the solid rock, from the bed of the stream to the vault, through which water, in sufficient quantity to carry all the stones, and other machinery, flows into a floom, forty-three feet long, six wide, and eighteen deep, fortified by solid rock on all sides, except one, where the water, in the ordinary manner, is thrown on six *tub-wheels*, built on an improved construction, and placed in the bottom of the vault. The water, after acting on the wheels, collects itself into a single channel, and passing through a subterraneous outlet, cut, for the purpose, in the rock, under the bed of the stream, discharges itself into the creek, below the falls.

From such a situation many important advantages are derived. The mill can never be endangered by too great a pressure of water ; not even when the river is the highest. The inlet and outlet of the floom, being formed in solid rock, is subject to no decay. The wheels are so situated as to be entirely secured, at all seasons, from frost.

The next establishment (north of the preceding) is a large cotton manufactory, erected by Maj. David Page, who has politely furnished me with a description of it. It is constructed of grey and white limestone, or marble, and its walls are thick and very substantial. It is one hundred and fifty feet in length, thirty-seven wide, six stories high at one end, and three at the other. The present proprietor, Mr. Joseph Hough, informs me, that the building contains at this time (December, 1820,) eight hundred and forty spindles for cotton, fifteen *power looms*, (or looms, which are moved by water) with all the warping and dressing apparatus needful, together with two woollen carding machines. The spindles produce a sufficient quantity of yarn daily, for five hundred yards of sheeting. The whole expense of converting the yarn (taking it from the spindle) into cloth, is about four cents a yard. The looms are tended by females. The goods manufactured are exhibited for sale in an apartment of the same building.

On the opposite side of the river is another cotton manufactory, owned by Mr. John Warren, who communicated the following facts. The building is of stone, fifty-eight feet in length, thirty-two in width, and forty in

height, containing six hundred spindles, with all other necessary apparatus. They yield yarn enough daily, for two hundred yards of sheeting. Adjoining this is another stone building, in which are eight *power looms*, weaving, on an average, one thousand yards of cloth a week. Under the same roof is a double fulling mill, or two stocks on one wheel, which, for twenty years past, has fullled twelve thousand yards of cloth annually: also a double carding machine, which cards from six to twelve thousand pounds of wool in a year.

Proceeding down the creek, from the bridge, on the western side, after passing two saw mills, two grist mills, a clothier's works, and some other establishments of minor importance, you come to the *marble manufactory*. The marble, in this village, which is now wrought, on a large scale, and extensively diffused over the country, was discovered by Dr. Ebenezer W. Judd, the present principal proprietor, as early as the year 1802. A small experiment in working it was made, he tells me, in 1805. A building on a very limited plan was erected, and machinery for sawing the marble (the idea of which had its origin in the inventive mind of the proprietor) was then first put in operation.

In 1806, a new and commodious building, two stories high, and destined to comprise sixty saws, to be moved by water, was erected. In 1808, this enlarged establishment went into operation, and has continued to the present day.

The saws are made of soft iron, without teeth, and are similar, in form, to those which are used in sawing marble by hand, in the large cities of Europe. The softer they are, the longer they last. This, to some, may appear paradoxical. But the explanation given by the conductor is, to me, tolerably satisfactory. In the operation a hard siliceous sand is always employed—moistened by the dropping of water from above—through which the saw, in its vertical motion, is constantly passing. Now, the softer the saw is, the more strongly the moistened sand adheres to it; and this sand assists in wearing away the stone: whereas, if the saw were steel, or hardened iron,

little or no sand would adhere to it; the saw would come directly in contact with the marble, and wear away itself, nearly as fast as it wore the stone. A *lead*en saw, he remarked, is found to divide a block of marble quicker than one made of iron. The saws are put in motion by a crank, which is turned by a water wheel.

The marble has, till lately, been obtained chiefly from a quarry situated within a few feet of the mill. During three or four of the last years, much has been procured, at the time of low water, from the bottom of the creek, immediately above the falls. It is raised from its bed partly by means of wedges, but principally by blasting. The mode of blasting is somewhat singular. A hole is drilled, with a large bar, six or eight feet deep, and charged with three or four pounds of powder. The explosive force is often truly astonishing. I am told, that one hundred and sixty tons of stone have, sometimes, been raised at a single blast.

The marble, after being sawn into slabs, is manufactured into tomb stones, tomb tables, curriers' tables, jambs, mantle pieces, hearths, window and door caps and sills, side boards, tables, sinks, and various other kinds of furniture. These articles are transported to Montreal, Quebec, Boston, New York, and even to Georgia. The machinery has sawn, annually, from five to ten thousand feet, since the year 1808. This method of sawing by water creates a vast saving of manual labour. All the saws are tended by a single person, whose time is not half occupied in this employment.

In the year 1814, the sales of marble

amounted to	\$8,031,00
1815, ...	7,018,77
1817, ...	6,496,29
1819, ...	7,498,59

The annual expense attending the establishment is about

3,500,00

Besides the extensive manufactories above described, there are many individuals engaged in the various mechanic arts. I have collected information, which is believ-

ed to be correct, respecting the number of their shops and establishments, within the limits of the village at the present period, (December, 1820); and they are as follows :

3 Hatters' shops	1 Painter's
6 Shoemakers'	2 Coopers'
2 Tailors'	2 Tinmen's
4 Milliners'	2 Potteries
3 Saddlers'	2 Manufactories of pot-
2 Goldsmiths'	ash
1 Clothier's works	3 Tanneries
7 Blacksmiths'	2 Bakehouses
1 Gunsmiths'	2 Cabinetmakers'
1 Glazier's	9 Housejoiners'
4 Wheelwright's	4 Masons.

Those, beyond the limits of the *borough*, but comprehended within the boundaries of the town, are the following.

2 Potteries	1 Tailor's
1 Clothier's works	3 Saw mills
1 Wheelwright's shop	2 Masons
2 Blacksmiths'	5 Housejoiners'
2 Shoemakers'	1 Cabinetmaker's.

About three quarters of a mile, down the creek, from the bridge, and a few rods beyond the north line of the town, but owned, in part, by gentlemen belonging to the village, are an oil mill, a paper mill, a saw mill and a clothier's works.

Face of the Country.

Except in the north-easterly part, which extends to the Green Mountain, Middlebury cannot be regarded as a mountainous, or hilly township; nor is it, like some districts of New England, a wide-spread, monotonous, uninviting plain. The surface is gently undulating; but nowhere swells into lofty and rugged elevations, nor sinks into deep and gloomy glens. Separate from the Green Mountain, Chipman's Hill is the highest land in the

town. Its elevation (by the barometer) above the level of the water in Otter Creek, below the falls, is four hundred and thirty-nine feet.

Minerals.

The uppermost stratum of this hill consists of vegetable mould, and a very coarse sand, partly siliceous, and partly calcareous. This sand is, doubtless, the result of the disintegration of rocks, with which the surface was anciently composed. It contains a multitude of fragments, whose rough edges are removed by the attrition of water, or by decomposition, so that they resemble the rounded pebbles, which occur at the bottom of rivulets. Some of them are milky quartz, and nearly transparent. Not far from the summit of this hill, as well as in several other places in the vicinity, I have met with an aggregate of mica and feldspar.

Schorl.

This mineral is rare in Middlebury. It is sometimes found connected with grey limestone. I have in my possession a large specimen of black schorl, imperfectly crystalized, imbedded in sky-coloured marble. It was dug from the cellar of the new collegiate building.

Garnet.

On the eastern side of the creek, back of the academy, may be seen garnets, sparingly diffused on the surface of the calcareous rocks. Their size is very minute, often not exceeding that of a pin's head. The form of the crystals is dodecaedral. Their colour is reddish brown.

Hornblende

is not uncommon. It seldom occurs alone; but generally mixed, in a greater or less proportion, with feldspar, and may then be called sienite. It all appears to be *out of place*.

Common Jasper,

of a dark brown colour, in solitary masses, is found in various parts of the town. A few years since, a mass

weighing more than a ton, was taken out of the alluvial land in my garden. Its shape was globular, and evidently made so by the friction of water.

Alumine, or Clay.

The clay, which is employed here in the manufacture of bricks, is far from being pure. Almost universally, it contains a considerable proportion of carbonate of lime, in sand, or in small masses, commonly not larger than pigeons' eggs. The bricks, when burnt, are handsome, and wear the appearance of being very substantial and durable. But this appearance is deceptive : for when allowed to become penetrated with moisture, these *morceaux* of limestone, which they imbosom, whose carbonic acid has been expelled by the heat of the kiln, and they, consequently, converted to lime, *slack*, and, by their enlargement, cause the bricks to crack and crumble to pieces.

A number of gentlemen, in this village, who have erected brick buildings, have not been careful to expose their bricks a sufficient length of time to the action of the elements before they were used. Hence several buildings, even in the infancy of their years, exhibit, by their exfoliations, indications of premature old age.

Bricks, which are of a suspicious character, should never be laid in a wall, especially where moisture can have free access to them, till they have been exposed to the weather during a long storm of rain ; or plunged in a vessel of water, and suffered to continue there, till they shall have become completely saturated with the liquid. Those, which remain a few days unimpaired, after the application of either of these tests, may, with perfect safety, be employed in the walls of any part of the building.

No *ores* of much importance have been found in Middlebury. There is, on the Green Mountain, near the line which divides this town from Salisbury, a bed of

Sulphuret of Iron,

connected with carbonate of lime. It was discovered in laying out the town, by the influence which it exerted on

the surveyor's needle. He* has informed me that, for about one hundred and fifty rods, he could not make the needle of his compass *traverse*, and was therefore obliged to run the line by erecting stakes. The ore belongs to that variety denominated *magnetic pyrites*. The quantity has not been ascertained. I have examined the locality; but the land, being still overspread by trees, logs and shrubs, afforded me no opportunity, except at one place, to see the mineral; yet, as it influenced the magnet at points considerably distant from each other, the quantity of ore must be extensive. Its colour is a bronze yellow, with stripes of brown. Before the blowpipe, it exhales a strong odour of sulphur. The same effect may be produced by dropping a little of its powder on a live coal, or on a heated fire shovel. It is very frangible. It contains common sulphuret of iron. I have a number of beautiful cubes and dodecaedrons obtained here.

Iron is never made from this kind of ore. It may, however, be employed for a valuable purpose. By exposure to the air, or to moisture, it readily decomposes. It may, therefore, easily be converted into sulphate of iron, or *copperas*. May we not look forward to the period when some enterprising person will here erect an establishment for the manufacture of this useful article?

Magnetic Oxide of Iron.

This species of iron ore has been met with in several places, but not in any considerable quantity. It has been seen in no other form but that of regular octaedric crystals. It occurs here imbedded in limestone, in argillite, and in a fine grained chlorite. The crystals are small, but very perfect: have a metallic lustre, and act powerfully on the magnet.

Limestone,

which may, with a comparatively moderate heat, be changed into lime, exists in almost every quarter of the town. The greatest deficiency is near the north-eastern

* The Honourable Gamaliel Painter.

extremity, which lies on the mountain. The rocks there are chiefly quartzeous: usually of a light brown colour, and excessively hard. I have seen one—a beautiful milk-white quartz, transparent at the edges—which would weigh twenty-five or thirty tons. The quantity of lime made in the town, is amply sufficient to satisfy the demand of its inhabitants for this article.

Marble,

of the finest texture, and susceptible of a high polish, is found here in inexhaustible abundance. The soil indeed of the whole township appears to rest on a vast basis of marble. In more than a hundred places does the marble make its appearance above the surface. It is arranged in strata, somewhat irregular, and of different thicknesses, but all inclining more or less to the plain of the horizon. It is of various colours, from a pure white to a deep grey, verging to a black.

Most of the marble in this region I have, till within a moderate period, supposed was unquestionably primitive, because I could discover no vegetable or animal remains or impressions in it. But recently I have been told, by one of Dr. Judd's workmen, that he had assisted in removing a block of marble from the bed of the creek, in which shells were visible. If this be a fact, (the person may possibly have been deceived; and I have not learned, that the shells attracted the attention of any other individual) it plainly demonstrates, that the rock could not have been formed, when, according to Moses, "the heavens and the earth were finished," but at some posterior epoch, after the animal kingdom had been called into being, and a portion of it had perished. Had I witnessed the animal exuviae, imbedded in our marble, I should, without hesitation, have ranked it in the class of *transition*, or metalliferous limestone. But I must be allowed still to cherish the opinion, that it belongs to the primitive formation. I may hereafter find cause to change it, but cannot at present.

The marble reposes on argillite, with which it sometimes alternates; as in a pasture a few rods north of the

new college, and on the west bank of the creek, a little below the marble manufactory.* The argillite is in laminæ, but is not easily divisible into plates sufficiently thin to be used as roof-slate. The structure of the marble is granular, but the concretions are commonly very minute. Its texture is compact. It will not sustain uninjured, the action of an intense heat. It is, therefore, not suitable for the jambs and backs of chimnies. The marble employed for these purposes, is brought down the creek on rafts, from Pittsford, and wrought, and sold, at the Middlebury marble manufactory.

The Pittsford marble is of different colours, but principally grey and white. It is all somewhat flexible. Dr. Judd furnished me with a slab of it, four and a half feet long, half an inch thick, and six inches wide. I placed its extremities on two chairs, and put a straight board on it, from one end to the other, and the slab bent, by its own weight, one and two tenths of an inch. I then moistened it with cold water, and it became more flexible, so that its distance, in the middle, from the incumbent board was one and six tenths of an inch. By endeavouring to depress it still lower, by placing my hand on it, the slab broke and was destroyed.

A white marble has been *quarried* and wrought, on a small scale, in the north part of Middlebury. It has received the name of the *Kirby marble*. When polished, it strongly resembles the statuary marble of Italy. I have, in my mineralogical cabinet, specimens, obtained both from this, and from Dr. Judd's quarry, which, in point of translucency, delicacy of texture, and general beauty, are not surpassed by any Carrara, or Parian marble, which has ever fallen under my observation.

Serpentine

has been found, in small masses, at a little distance from the new college building. Its colour is a light green, and at the edges it is very translucent.

* If the limestone be primitive, the argillite must be so too, and I have seen nothing to convince me, that this is not the case.

Water.

The minerals impart to the water in this village a property, which causes it to be denominated *hard water*, or renders it incapable of readily dissolving soap. It is impregnated with various earthy substances, but, chiefly, with carbonate and muriate of lime. It may be separated from its foreign ingredients, or, at least, be rendered far less contaminated, by means of common pot-ash, or pearl-ash. If you wish to clarify a hogshead of this water, or make it *soft*, and fit for washing, it may be effected, as experiment has repeatedly taught me, by infusing into it three or four quarts of good ashes, and stirring it with a stick, or, what is better, by procuring a lie from the ashes, and then pouring in a quantity of it, sufficient to render the water an easy solvent of soap.

Mineral Spring.

About a mile and a half east from the meeting house, on land belonging to the Hon. Daniel Chipman, there is a mineral spring, whose water is slightly chalybeate. It has been used, with beneficial effect, by persons, afflicted with cutaneous complaints. Taken internally it increases the appetite and, of course, gives a better relish for food. It never freezes.

Fertility of the Soil.

A large proportion of the township consists of land, which is arable, and very fertile, yielding to the industrious agriculturist plentiful crops of grain and grass. This part of the country may, perhaps, be considered rather more favourable to the production of the former, than the latter, of these articles. And yet, it affords fine pasturage, and rich meadows; and large droves of fat cattle are collected here, every autumn, for the Boston or Montreal market.

Several farmers have assured me, that certain tracts of their land have, in auspicious seasons, given them forty bushels of wheat to the acre. This, to some, may appear incredible, but I have no reason to call in question the correctness of the assertion. The character of my

informants is such as to preclude the possibility, at least, of intentional error. The wheat, which is not needed for the sustenance of the inhabitants, is transported, principally, to Troy, in the state of New York. The price of this article, here, in ordinary times, fluctuates between \$1,50 and 2,00 a bushel. At this time (December, 1820,) the best of wheat may be bought for \$1,00; and I have heard of instances, in which it has been procured for half this sum. An acre, it is said, will commonly yield a greater number of bushels of wheat than it will of rye.

Oats, barley, buck-wheat, peas, beans and potatoes are cultivated with success. The soil does not appear to be so well adapted to maize, or Indian corn, as that, which lies on Connecticut River. An individual, in this vicinity, however, has raised eighty bushels of corn on an acre.

Fruit Trees.

The peach tree is rarely to be seen in this part of the country. The stone germinates; the plant springs up and grows luxuriantly during one or two, and, sometimes, three or four years, and then perishes. The tree is supposed to be too tender to endure the severity of our winters. The few peaches, which are brought into the village for sale, from the neighbouring towns, are vastly inferior in point of size, beauty and deliciousness, to those produced in the southern and middle states.

Attempts have been made to *naturalize* the quince tree, but they have all proved ineffectual. The soil, or climate is manifestly unfriendly to it. I have never seen one growing in the town.

This region is particularly favourable to the growth of the apple tree. When the town was first settled by white people, its inhabitants devoted scarcely any attention to the rearing of orchards. Some, without making a trial, imbibed the notion, that the land was ill adapted to the production of this species of fruit. Others were deterred from planting orchards, by the narrow consideration, that they should not live to enjoy the good of their labour; forgetful of the old, but no less important maxim, "that

a man ought to live, as if he were to live here forever, and yet, as if he were to die to-morrow."

Owing to the operation of some cause, I know not what, a complete revolution in opinion has been brought about. There is now scarcely a farm in the town, which does not contain an orchard. Considerable improvements have been effected, within a few years, in our apple orchards, by ingrafting and inoculation. The best kinds of fruit are now raised, and in the highest perfection. The apples are larger, fairer, and better flavoured, than those, which grow in the older states. The pearmain, the seek-no-farther, the Rhode Island greening rank among our best apples. The usual price, in autumn, is between twenty-five and thirty-four cents a bushel, and that of cider from \$1,50 to 2,00 a barrel. The last fall, owing to the uncommon scarcity of money, apples were, in a few instances, bought for seventeen cents a bushel, and cider for \$1,00 a barrel.

We have an extensive variety of plumbs and cherries. The egg plumb, produced here, is of a large size, and delicious; but the tree is very short lived. Nearly all, which ornamented our fruit yards a few years since, are now dead.

The damson and three or four other sorts of plumb flourish here. Within a moderate period, however, a disease has fastened on many of the plumb trees, which has proved fatal to them. The first indication of it, which I have noticed, is the decay of some of the lower limbs. Others die, gradually, till the whole tree is finally destroyed.

In the spring of 1818, I observed two of my best trees beginning to fail, and resolved to search for the cause. I dug away the earth, about a foot deep, around one of them, and found, that the body of the tree, just below the surface of the ground, was, on one side, considerably swollen, and had become fungous. The wood, more than half round the stock, was dry, hard and spongy. With a sharp instrument, I separated the dead part of the wood from that, which was sound and healthy, and filled up the cavity, around the roots, with chip manure, over which was spread a coating, three or four inches thick, of rich

earth. The tree is now alive ; was loaded with fruit the last season ; and does not appear at all defective.

On the other tree, I made no experiment. The branches, one after another, withered away, till the whole perished, and in the succeeding autumn, owing to the progress, which the disease had made at the root, the tree was broken down by the force of the wind. The evil is, I imagine, attributable to the operation of a small worm, which insinuates itself between the bark and wood, and feeds, perhaps, on both. No worms were discovered, but there were holes in the bark and wood, which had the appearance of having been formed by them. By means of their work, the sap is prevented from circulating freely through the pores of that part of the tree ; the wood, consequently, becomes dry and defective, and the decayed part, gradually communicating its noxious qualities to the whole tree, effects its destruction.

The pear is but little cultivated. Why is it, that the inhabitants make no more exertions to rear this admirable fruit ? Our climate, surely, is not unfavourable to its growth. Those who have made the trial, have succeeded beyond their highest expectations. One of our townsmen,* whose farm lies about two miles from the village, has two large trees, which grew from pear twigs, set twenty years ago, in stocks of the thorn apple. They bear plentifully, and the fruit sells for about \$2,00 a bushel.

Some of the most delicious pears, which I have ever tasted, were produced in Scotland, in latitude as high as 55° 50'. I mention this circumstance to show, that the pear neither demands a long summer, nor the influence of a vertical sun.

The tree should be reared, not from the seed, for it is of very slow growth, but from inoculation, or from ingrafting. On an apple stock, the pear scion will not, it is believed, become a fruitful, and durable tree. These two kinds of trees have but little affinity for each other. The pear slip will flourish tolerably well in the apple tree,

* Capt. Samson.

for two or three years, but is then, for want of a stronger adhesion, liable to be broken off by the wind, or by its own weight.

The thorn apple adopts, without reluctance, the pear scion, and nourishes it as its own child. The stock, when somewhat less than an inch in diameter, should be sawn off just below the surface of the ground, so that the new tree may not be altogether dependent on the thorn for its support, but may itself take root in the soil. The scions, whether pear or apple, should be taken from young and thrifty trees. If they are cut from aged, decaying ones, they will not, Sir Humphrey Davy assures us, long survive the trees from which they were derived.

As his observations, on this subject, are peculiarly interesting, and may not have been perused by all my readers, I shall take the liberty to transcribe two or three paragraphs from his Agricultural Chemistry. He is speaking of the causes of decay in trees :

“The decay of the heart-wood,” says he, “seems to constitute the great limit to the age and size of trees. And in young branches from old trees, it is much more liable to decompose, than in similar branches from seedlings. *This is likewise the case with grafts.* The graft is only nourished by the sap of the tree to which it is transferred ; its properties are not changed by it ; the leaves, blossoms, and fruit are of the same kind, as if it had vegetated upon its parent stock. The only advantage to be gained in this way, is the affording to the graft from an old tree a more plentiful and healthy food, than it could have procured in its natural state ; it is rendered, for a time, more vigorous, and produces fairer blossoms and richer fruits. But it partakes, not merely of the obvious properties, but likewise of *the infirmities and dispositions to old age and decay of the tree whence it sprung.*”

“This seems to be distinctly shown by the observations and experiments of Mr. Knight. He has, in a number of instances, transferred the young scions and healthy shoots from old esteemed fruit-bearing trees to young seedlings. They flourished for two or three years ; but they soon became diseased and sickly, like their parent trees.”

This curious fact—that grafts taken from old trees will be short lived—has been amply demonstrated by experiments made in our own country. I shall mention but one instance. The Hon. Gamaliel Painter (whom I have before mentioned) obtained, at three different times, a number of scions from a venerable and favourite pear tree, above one hundred years old, in Salisbury in Connecticut. He set them all, with great care, in stocks of the thorn apple tree; but was unable to make any of them live more than two or three years. The one, which survived the longest, he at length noticed, was beginning to perish at the top. This part he cut off, with his penknife, and found the graft hollow; and the farther he cut down, the more its heart-wood was decayed. The next season it died.

I have heard it asserted, that the pear scion would vegetate, and become fruitful, if set in a small stock of the elm tree. Whether there be any truth in this assertion, I know not. The experiment might easily be made.

The Grape,

which has been cultivated in all ages of the world, the grape, so frequently mentioned in the scriptures, as well as in profane authors, and the largeness of whose cluster, cut at “the brook of Eshcol,” afforded the offspring of Jacob no unconvincing testimony of the richness of “the land of promise;”—does not, generally, flourish in Middlebury. The vine grows luxuriantly, but is, almost always, unfruitful. Its barrenness may be attributable to our ignorance of the proper mode of managing it. The pruning knife, I apprehend, is employed much too sparingly; the foliage is suffered to become too thick; it forms a covering to the fruit nearly impervious to the rays of the sun. But the young and tender grapes should at all times have a free and fair exposure to the influence of the sun. This is indispensable in order to their being early brought to a state of maturity.

Severe cutting, we are informed, by experienced gardeners, does not impair, but benefit the vine. If manag-

ed here, as it is in some parts of Europe, the vine, perhaps, might succeed.

It is there propagated, usually, by *cuttings*. The piece intended to be planted is taken, most of it, from the last year's growth, cutting the stock, however, a little below where it sprouted, the last season, from the old vine ; so as to retain on the cutting a small quantity of the two years old wood. It should be about a foot long, and all its branches lopped off. Sometime in the early part of May, it should be placed in the ground, in an erect posture, or but little inclined, the larger end downward, so deep as to have the upper eye level with the surface, over which eye a small quantity of light earth should be spread, to prevent it from becoming too dry to sprout. The cuttings should be planted, one in each hill, the hills being about five feet apart, so that they may conveniently be hoed, in the same manner, that we hoe corn, or beans. Only one sprout should be allowed to grow, the rest being rubbed off with the hand, or cut away with a knife. This, when it rises sufficiently high, should be tied to a strong stake or pole, similar to a bean pole, driven into the earth, and rising above it five or six feet. The knife ought never to permit the vine to overtop the pole.

The soil should be light and rich. That the root may acquire strength, the vine should be very thoroughly pruned for two or three years. The pruning should be performed, both in the autumn and spring, as well as, occasionally, during the summer. The best time for effecting it, in the fall, is immediately after the leaves have fallen.

The grapes are always borne by shoots of the present year's growth, springing from the wood, which was produced the preceding year. Care should, therefore, be taken in pruning to preserve the most vigorous and handsome shoots of the present year ; for these will be most likely to yield strong and healthy branches, to sustain and nourish the grapes the ensuing season. Cuttings commonly bear fruit the third year after planting.

There can be little doubt, I imagine, that the large purple grape, which grows spontaneously in many parts of New England, and possesses an excellent flavour, and,

perhaps, the Madeira grape also, might, with proper culture, be made to flourish here, and become fruitful. Possibly the vine might require covering in the winter; but this could be done, with very little labour, by bending it down to the ground, throwing a small quantity of straw over it, and on this placing a few shovelfull of earth. I am now endeavouring to raise grapes in the above described manner. The cuttings were planted two years ago. The last spring they were covered with blossoms, but bore no fruit. The next season, I shall probably have a crop of grapes.

Strawberries, Gooseberries, &c.

The white and red strawberry, the gooseberry, the red and black raspberry, the red and white currant are found, in great perfection, in some of our gardens.*

Currants.

Currants are here manufactured into wine. Many families make, at least, one small cask, annually, for their own consumption, and prefer it to wine made from grapes.

Gardening.

There is but little attention here given to the delightful art of horticulture. The inhabitants devote their time, principally, to objects, which are more lucrative, and, perhaps, in their estimation, more honourable. But they ought not to forget, that one of the greatest sovereigns of Rome, voluntarily, abandoned the imperial purple to become a practical gardener. To cultivate a small tract

* *Strawberry vines* should be set in *beds*. This mode is vastly preferable to that of cultivating them in hills. The labour is less, the vine more productive, and the fruit far cleaner. They should be set, one in a place, ten or twelve inches asunder, sometime in the last of the month of April, or near the commencement of May, and kept free from weeds. The bed should be thoroughly dug, and made rich by manure. The shoots, or *runners*, which will be very numerous, ought, during the first summer, to be frequently cut off, with a hoe, or with a pair of scissors. The second season, the vines may be allowed to cover the whole of the ground, and, afterward, will need no further weeding. They will continue to bear four or five years. In order to be certain of having this luxury, every summer, it will be proper to have a new bed set, once in two or three years. The field strawberry, by being cultivated in a garden, is greatly improved, both in size and flavour.

of land was, in his view, and in that of his eulogist, a high honour.

“Methinks I see great Dioclesian walk
In the Salonian garden’s noble shade,
Which by his own imperial hands was made :
I see him smile, methinks, as he does talk
With the ambassador, who came in vain
T’ intice him to a *throne* again.”

No employment is a better preservative, or restorative, of health. Nothing can be more salubrious than the odour emanating from the newly dug ground, and from the blossoms of garden shrubbery. To a professional man : to one, whose occupation compels him to a sedentary life, and who is perpetually inhaling the noxious air of a confined study, what a treat is it, to go into the open air and labour an hour in his garden ! It produces innumerable happy effects ; it expels melancholy : it cheers the jaded spirits ; it arouses and invigorates the deadened energies of the soul.

“Often amused with feats of gardening,
Delightful exercise, I work and sing !
And moving cheerful feel not half my toil,
Like swains that whistle, while they plough the soil.
Should any disbelieve, I here invite
Such infidels to come, and trust their sight.”

There are, in Middlebury, no splendid gardens, adorned with elegant parterres, and spreading wall trees, and winding alleys, and gravelled walks, and artificial lakes ; but there are many valuable kitchen gardens, in which may be found all the common esculent vegetables.

Carrots are grown, by some individuals, in large quantities for the purpose of being given to cattle, and especially to milch cows. They afford a very nutritious species of food, and cause them to yield milk more plenteously and richer. It is believed that cows, in this way, may be supported through the winter at considerably less expense (giving them, occasionally, a little hay) than they can, when supplied wholly with *barn fodder*.

The watermelon does not attain a high degree of perfection in our gardens. The fruit is puny in its size, and

not rich in its flavour. This is owing, I imagine, to the soil, which, in most parts of the town, is clayey. Excellent watermelons are produced at Burlington, and at Windsor, where the soil is lighter and more sandy.

Catalogue of Plants.

The following catalogue of plants, which are indigenous in the township of Middlebury, was prepared for me by Dr. Edwin James, a young gentleman, formerly of this place, who has, during a considerable period, assiduously applied himself to the study of botany, and who will, ere-long, attain to distinguished eminence in this interesting branch of natural history.

Botanical Names.

Vulgar Names.

<i>Acalypha virginica</i> , (<i>Willdenow.</i>)	Three-seed mercury.
<i>Acer rubrum</i> ,	Red maple; soft maple.
<i>saccharinum</i> ,	Sugar maple.
<i>striatum</i> , (<i>Michaux.</i>)	Striped maple.
<i>spicatum</i> , (<i>Lamark.</i>)	Mountain maple.
<i>Achillea millefolium</i> , (<i>Smith.</i>)	Yarrow.
<i>Acorus calamus</i> , (<i>Willd.</i>)	Sweet flag.
<i>Actaea rubra</i> , (<i>Bigelow.</i>)	Baneberry.
<i>alba</i> ,	Necklace-weed.
<i>Adiantum pedatum</i> , (<i>Willd.</i>)	Maiden-hair.
<i>Agrimonia eupatoria</i> ,	Agrimony.
<i>Agrostemma githago</i> ,	Cockle.
<i>Agrostis vulgaris</i> , (<i>Smith.</i>)	Red-top.
<i>alba</i> , (<i>Willd.</i>)	White-top.
<i>tenuiflora</i> ,	—
<i>Aira flexuosa</i> ,	Hair grass.
<i>Alisma plantago</i> , (<i>Michaux.</i>)	Water plantain, mad-dog-weed.
<i>Allium tricoccum</i> , (<i>Willd.</i>)	Wild leek.
<i>Alnus serrulata</i> ,	Alder.
<i>Alsine media</i> ,	Succulent chick-weed.
<i>Amaranthus oleraceus</i> ,	Pot amaranth.
<i>Ambrosia elatior</i> , [<i>chaux.</i>]	Hog-weed.
<i>Ampelopsis quinquefolia</i> , (<i>Mi-</i>	False grape.
<i>Anemone virginiana</i> , (<i>Willd.</i>)	Wind-flower.
<i>aconitifolia</i> , (<i>Michaux.</i>)	—
<i>nemorosa</i> ,	Low anemone.
<i>Angelica triquinata</i> ,	Angelica.
<i>Anthemis cotula</i> , (<i>L.</i>)	May-weed.
<i>Anthoxanthum odoratum</i> ,	Sweet vernal grass.
<i>Apocynum androsaemifolium</i> ,	Dog-bane.
(<i>Willd.</i>)	

*Botanical Names.**Vulgar Names.*

Apocynum connabinum,
Aquilegia canadensis,
Aralia hispida,
 racemosa,
 nudicaulis,
Arenaria stricta,
Arctium lappa,
Aronia botryapium, (*Persoon.*)
 melanocarpa,
Artemisia vulgaris, (*Willd.*)
Arum triphyllum,
Asarum canadense,
Asclepias syriaca, (*L.*)
 debilis, (*Michaux.*)
 incarnata,
 quadrifolia,
Aspidium acrostichoides, (*Willd.*)
 marginale,
Asplenium rhizophyllum,
 angustifolium,
 ebeneum,
Aster foliosus,
 novae angliae,
 cordifolius,
 corymbosus,
 puniceus,
Azalea viscosa, (*Pursh.*)
 nudiflora,
Betula populifolia, (*Willd.*)
 excelsa,
 papyracea,
 lenta,
Bidens cernua,
 frondosa,
 connata,
Botrychium fumaroides ?
 virginicum,
 gracile,
Bromus secalinus,
 ciliatus,
Calla palustris,
Callitriche verna,
 intermedia,
Caltha palustris,
Campanula rotundifolia,
 erinoides,

Indian hemp.
 Wild columbine.
 Woody-stemmed sarsaparilla.
 Spikenard.
 Sarsaparilla.
 ———
 Burdock.
 Shad-bush.
 Black chokeberry.
 Mug-wort.
 Indian turnip.
 Wild ginger.
 Common milk-weed.
 Slender milk-weed.
 Swamp milk-weed.
 ———
 ———
 ———
 Walking leaf.
 Spleen-wort.
 Ebony spleen-wort.
 Star-flower.
 ———
 ———
 ———
 ———
 White honey-suckle.
 Early honey-suckle.
 ———
 Poplar birch.
 Tall birch.
 Canoe birch.
 Spicy birch.
 Water-beggar-ticks.
 Burr-mary-gold.
 ———
 ———
 ———
 Chess.
 ———
 Water arum.
 Water star-wort.
 ———
 American cowslip.
 Hair-bell.
 Prickly bell-flower.

<i>Botanical Names.</i>	<i>Vulgar Names.</i>
<i>Campanula perfoliata</i> ,	Clasping bell-flower.
<i>Cannabis sativa</i> ,	Hemp.
<i>Cardamine pennsylvanica</i> ,	Water cress.
<i>Carex retroflexa</i> ,	Sedge grass.
<i>stipata</i> ,	_____
<i>festucacea</i> ,	_____
<i>caespitosa</i> ,	_____
<i>crinita</i> ,	_____
<i>vestita</i> ,	_____
<i>tentaculata</i> ,	_____
<i>lupulina</i> ,	_____
<i>folliculata</i> ,	_____
<i>plantaginea</i> ,	_____
<i>Carpinus americana</i> , [chaux.]	Blue beech.
<i>Caulophyllum thalictroides</i> , (Mi-	Blue cohosh.
<i>Ceanothus americanus</i> , (Willd.)	New Jersey tea.
<i>Celastrus scandens</i> ,	Staff-tree.
<i>Cerastium vulgatum</i> , (Smith.)	Mouse-ear chick-weed.
<i>Chaerophyllum claytoni</i> , (Pers)	Poison cicily.
<i>Chelidonium majus</i> ,	Celandine.
<i>Chelone glabra</i> , (Willdenow.)	Snake-head.
<i>Chenopodium album</i> , (Smith.)	Pig-weed.
<i>botrys</i> ,	Oak-of-Jerusalem.
<i>Chimaphila maculata</i> ,	Spotted wintergreen.
<i>corymbosa</i> ,	Bitter wintergreen.
<i>Chrysanthemum leucanthemum</i> ,	Ox-eyed daisy.
<i>Chrysosplenium oppositifolium</i> ,	Water carpet.
(Willd.)	
<i>Cicuta maculata</i> ,	Musquash-root.
<i>bulbifera</i> ,	_____
<i>Circaea lutetiana</i> , (Vahl.)	Enchanter's night-shade.
<i>alpina</i> ,	Dwarf night-shade.
<i>Claytonia virginica</i> , (Pursh.)	Spring beauty.
<i>Clematis virginica</i> , (Willd.)	Virgin's bower.
<i>Cnicus lanceolatus</i> ,	Common thistle.
<i>altissimus</i> ,	Tall thistle.
<i>arvensis</i> , (Pursh.)	Canada thistle.
<i>Collinsonia canadensis</i> , (Willd.)	Horse balm.
<i>Comptonia asplenifolia</i> ,	Sweet fern.
<i>Convallaria canaliculata</i> ,	Clasping solomon-seal.
<i>multiflora</i> ,	Giant solomon-seal.
<i>racemosa</i> , (Pursh.)	Spiked solomon-seal.
<i>bifolia</i> , (Michaux.)	Dwarf solomon-seal.
<i>Coptis trifolia</i> , (Pursh.)	Goldthread.
<i>Cornus canadensis</i> ,	Low cornel.
<i>sanguinea</i> ,	Red osier.
<i>alba</i> ,	White dog-wood.
<i>sericea</i> ,	Blue-berried dog-wood.

*Botanical Names.**Vulgar Names.*

<i>Cornus paniculata</i> ,	Panicked dog-wood.
<i>Corydalis coccularia</i> , (<i>Pers.</i>)	Yellow breeches.
<i>glauca</i> ,	Colic-weed.
<i>fungosa</i> ,	Climbing colic-weed.
<i>Corylus americana</i> , (<i>Willd.</i>)	Swamp hazlenut.
<i>rostrata</i> ,	Beaked hazlenut.
<i>Crataegus coccinea</i> ,	Thorn-bush.
<i>pyrifolia</i> ,	Pear-leaf thorn.
<i>flava</i> ,	Yellow-berried thorn.
<i>crus-galli</i> ,	Thorn tree.
<i>Cuscuta americana</i> ,	Dodder.
<i>Cymbidium hyemale</i> ,*	Adam and eve.
<i>corallorhizum</i> ,	Coral-root.
<i>odontorhizum</i> ,	Toothed coral.
<i>pulchellum</i> ,	Grass-pink.
<i>Cynoglossum officinale</i> ,	Hound-tongue.
<i>Cyperus poaeformis</i> , (<i>Pursh.</i>)	Bog grass.
<i>uncinatus</i> ,	
<i>flavescens</i> , (<i>Willd.</i>)	Yellow grass.
<i>Cypripedium pubescens</i> ,	Yellow ladies' slipper.
<i>humile</i> ,	Low ladies' slipper.
<i>Dalibarda fragarioides</i> , (<i>Michaux.</i>)	Spice-root, dry strawberry.
<i>violaeoides</i> ,	False violet.
<i>Datura stramonium</i> , (<i>L.</i>)	Thorn-apple, (introduced.)
<i>Dentaria diphylla</i> , (<i>Willd.</i>)	Tooth-root ; trickle.
<i>Diervilla humilis</i> , (<i>Pers.</i>)	Bush honey-suckle.
<i>Digitaria sanguinalis</i> , (<i>Willd.</i>)	Finger grass.
<i>Dirca palustris</i> ,	American mezereon.
<i>Dracaena borealis</i> ,	Dragoness plant.
<i>Dulichium spathaceum</i> , (<i>Pers.</i>)	Galingale.
<i>Elodea campanulata</i> , (<i>Pursh.</i>)	Swamp John's-wort.
<i>Elymus striatus</i> , (<i>Willd.</i>)	Wild rye.
<i>hystrix</i> ,	Hedge-hog grass.
<i>Epigaea repens</i> ,	Trailing arbutus.
<i>Epilobium spicatum</i> ,	Great willow herb.
<i>lineare</i> ,	
<i>palustre</i> ,	
<i>tetragonum</i> ,	
<i>Equisetum arvense</i> ,	
<i>hyemale</i> ,	Horse-tail.
<i>sylvaticum</i> ,	Scouring rush.

* *Corallorhiza hyemale* of Nuttall, who has at length corrected the error, which had crept into all former descriptions of this interesting plant. See his *Genera of North American Plants*.

<i>Botanical Names.</i>	<i>Vulgar Names.</i>
<i>Erigeron canadense,</i>	Pride-weed.
<i>strigosum,</i>	_____
<i>heterophyllum,</i>	_____
<i>philadelphicum,</i>	_____
<i>bellidifolium,</i>	_____
<i>Eriophorum angustifolium,</i>	Cotton grass.
<i>Erysimum officinale,</i>	Hedge mustard.
<i>barbarea,</i>	Water radish.
<i>Erythronium lanceolatum, (Pursh.)</i>	Adder's tongue.
<i>Eupatorium purpureum, (Willd.)</i>	Joe pye.
<i>verticillatum,</i>	Canker-root.
<i>perfoliatum,</i>	Boneset; thorough-wort.
<i>ageratoides,</i>	_____
<i>Fagus ferruginea,</i>	
<i>Festuca elatior,</i>	Beech.
<i>Fluvialis fragilis?</i>	Fescue grass.
<i>Fragaria virginiana,</i>	River nymph.
<i>Fraxinus acuminata,</i>	Wild strawberry.
<i>pubescens,</i>	White ash.
<i>sambucifolia,</i>	Black ash.
	Water ash.
<i>Galeopsis tetrahit,</i>	
<i>Galium trifidum,</i>	Flowering nettle.
<i>tinctorium,</i>	Bed straw.
<i>asprellum,</i>	Dyer's cleavers.
<i>triflorum,</i>	Rough bed straw.
<i>Gaultheria procumbens,</i>	_____
<i>serphyllifolia, (Pursh.)</i>	Spicy wintergreen
<i>Gentiana saponaria, (Willd.)</i>	Creeping wintergreen.
<i>Geranium maculatum,</i>	Soap-wort gentian.
<i>robertianum,</i>	Crowfoot geranium.
<i>Geum virginianum,</i>	Herb robert.
<i>strictum,</i>	Avens.
<i>rivale,</i>	Upright avens.
<i>Glechoma hederacea,</i>	Purple avens.
<i>Glycine comosa,</i>	Ground ivy.
<i>apios,</i>	Slender wild bean.
<i>Gnaphalium margaritaceum,</i>	Groundnut.
<i>polycephalum,</i>	Everlasting.
<i>plantagineum,</i>	Sweet-scented everlasting.
<i>uliginosum,</i>	Early everlasting.
<i>Gratiola officinalis,</i>	Mud everlasting.
	Hedge hyssop.
<i>Hamamelis virginica,</i>	
<i>Hedeoma pulegioides,</i>	Witch hazle.
<i>Hedysarum glutinosum,</i>	Penny-royal.
<i>viridiflorum,</i>	Bush trefoil.

*Botanical Names.**Vulgar Names.*

<i>Hedysarum acuminatum</i> ,	Bush trefoil.
<i>Helianthus trachelifolius</i> ,	Rough sunflower.
<i>divaricatus</i>,	Small sunflower.
<i>decapetalus</i>,	_____
<i>tuberosus</i>,	Artichoke, (introduced.)
<i>Hepatica triloba</i> , (<i>Pursh.</i>)	Liver-leaf.
<i>Heracleum lanatum</i> ,	Cow parsley.
<i>Hieracium venosum</i> ,	Vein-leaf; hawk-weed.
<i>gronovii</i>,	Small hawk-weed.
<i>paniculatum</i>,	Panicled hawk-weed.
<i>fasciculatum</i>, (<i>Pursh.</i>)	Great-toothed hawk-weed.
<i>scabrum</i>, (<i>Michaux.</i>)	Rough hawk-weed.
<i>marianum</i>, (<i>Willd.</i>)	(a variety of <i>H. gronovii</i> ?)
<i>Houstonia coerulea</i> ,	Venus' pride.
<i>Humulus lupulus</i> ,	Hop.
<i>Hydrocotyle americana</i> ,	Water navel-wort.
<i>Hyoseris amplexicaulis</i> , (<i>Michaux.</i>)	_____
<i>Hypericum canadense</i> , (<i>Willd.</i>)	Square-stemm'd St. John's-wort.
<i>perforatum</i>,	Common St. John's-wort.
<i>corymbosum</i>,	Tall St. John's-wort.
<i>parviflorum</i>,	Small St. John's-wort.
<i>Hyssopus nepetoides</i> , (<i>Pursh.</i>)	Giant hyssop.
<i>Illex canadensis</i> , (<i>Willd.</i>)	Mountain-holly.
<i>Impatiens nolitangere</i> ,	Touch-me-not.
<i>biflora</i>,	Jewel-weed.
<i>Inula helenium</i> ,	Elecampane.
<i>Iris virginica</i> ,	Blue flag; wild iris.
<i>Juglans cinerea</i> ,	Butternut.
<i>squamosa</i>,	Shagbark walnut.
<i>porcina</i>,	Pignut.
<i>Juncus effusus</i> , (<i>Smith.</i>)	Rush grass.
<i>setaceus</i>, (<i>Pursh.</i>)	_____
<i>nodosus</i>,	_____
<i>tenuis</i>,	_____
<i>campestris</i>,	_____
<i>Juniperus virginiana</i> , (<i>Willd.</i>)	Red cedar.
<i>prostrata</i>,	American savin.
<i>communis</i>,	Juniper.
<i>Kalmia angustifolia</i> ,	Sheep poison.
<i>Lactuca elongata</i> ,	Wild lettuce.
<i>Lapathum acetosellum</i> , (<i>Pers.</i>)	Field sorrel.
<i>Lechea major</i> , (<i>Willd.</i>)	Pin-weed.
<i>minor</i>,	_____
<i>Leersia oryzoides</i> , (<i>Pursh.</i>)	Cut grass.

<i>Botanical Names.</i>	<i>Vulgar Names.</i>
<i>Lemna polyrhiza</i> ,	Water flax-seed.
<i>Leontodon taraxacum</i> ,	Dandelion.
<i>Leonurus cardiaca</i> ,	Mother-wort.
<i>Leptanthus graminea</i> , (<i>Michaux.</i>)	Water star-grass.
<i>Lilium canadense</i> , (<i>Willd.</i>)	Meadow lily.
<i>Lindernia dilatata</i> , (<i>Muhlenberg.</i>)	Lindern.
<i>Linnaea borealis</i> , (<i>Gronovius.</i>)	Twin-flower.
<i>Lobelia cardinalis</i> , (<i>Willd.</i>)	Cardinal flower.
<i>inflata</i> ,	Indian tobacco.
<i>pallida</i> ,	—————
<i>Lonicera parviflora</i> , (<i>Caprifolium.</i>	—————
<i>parviflorum</i> , <i>Pursh.</i>)	
<i>hirsuta</i> ,	Rough wood-vine.
<i>Lycopodium clavatum</i> ,	Club-moss.
<i>complanatum</i> ,	Ground pine.
<i>dendroideum</i> ,	Tree-moss.
<i>lucidulum</i> ,	Moon-fruit pine.
<i>Lycopus europaeus</i> , (<i>Michaux.</i>)	Water horehound.
<i>virginicus</i> ,	—————
<i>Lysimachia racemosa</i> ,	Bulb bearing loose strife.
<i>ciliata</i> ,	Common loose strife.
<i>quadrifolia</i> , (<i>Willd.</i>)	Whorled loose strife.
<i>Malaxis liliifolia</i> ,	Tway blade.
<i>ophioglossoides</i> ,	Snake-mouth.
<i>Malva rotundifolia</i> ,	Low mallows.
<i>Medeola virginica</i> ,	Indian cucumber.
<i>Melilotus officinalis</i> ,	Melilot.
<i>Menispermum canadense</i> ,	Moon-seed.
<i>Mentha borealis</i> ,	Meadow-mint.
<i>viridis</i> ,	Spear-mint.
<i>Mimulus ringens</i> ,	Monkey flower.
<i>Mitchella repens</i> , (<i>L.</i>)	Partridgeberry.
<i>Mitella diphylla</i> ,	Currant leaf.
<i>prostrata</i> ,	—————
<i>Monarda oblongata</i> , (<i>Aiton.</i>)	High balm ; (naturalized.)
<i>Monotropa lanuginosa</i> , (<i>Michaux.</i>)	Bird's nest.
<i>uniflora</i> , (<i>Willd.</i>)	Beech drops.
<i>Muhlenbergia erecta</i> , (<i>Pers.</i>)	Wood grass.
<i>Myosotis lappula</i> ,	—————
<i>Myrrhis dulcis</i> ,	Sweet cicely.
<i>Neottia cernua</i> , (<i>Willd.</i>)	Ladies' tresses.
<i>pubescens</i> ,	Blood-vein ladies' tresses.
<i>Nepeta cataria</i> ,	Catnep.
<i>Nuphar advena</i> ,	Yellow pond lily.
<i>kalmiana</i> , (<i>Aiton.</i>)	Little yellow pond lily.
<i>Nymphaea odorata</i> , (<i>Willd.</i>)	White pond lily.

*Botanical Names.**Vulgar Names.*

Oenothera biennis,
 chrysantha,
 Onoclea sensibilis,
 struthiopteris,
 Orchis ciliaris,
 lacera,
 spectabilis,
 orbiculata, (*Pursh.*)
 dilatata,
 fimbriata, (*Willd.*)

Orobanche virginiana,
 Osmunda cinnamomea,
 interrupta,
 regalis,

Ostrya virginica,
 Oxalis acetosella,
 dillenii,
 stricta,

Oxycoccus macrocarpus,

Panax quinquefolia,
 trifolia,

Panicum crus-galli,
 glaucum,
 capillare,
 latifolium,
 nitidum,

Parnassia caroliniana,
 Pastinaca sativa,
 Pedicularis canadensis,
 Penthorum sedoides,
 Pentstemon pubescens,
 Phleum pratense,
 Phalaris arundinacea,
 Phryma leptostachya,
 Phytolacca decandra,
 Pinus balsamea,
 canadensis, (*Pursh.*)

 nigra,
 alba,
 strobis,
 pendula,
 microcarpa,
 resinosa,
 rigida,

Plantago major,
 Plantanus occidentalis,
 Poa pratensis, (*Smith.*)

Scabish.
 Dwarf scabish.
 Sensitive fern.
 Buck's-horn brake.
 Yellow orchis.
 Ragged-lip'd orchis.
 Showy orchis.
 Round-leaved orchis.
 Giant orchis.
 Purple orchis.
 Cancer root.
 Flowering fern.

Iron wood, hop horn beam.
 Wood sorrel.
 Ladies' sorrel.

Cranberry.

Ginseng.
 Dwarf groundnut.
 Barn grass.
 Foxtail panic.

Grass of parnassus.
 Wild parsnip, (introduced.)
 Louse-wort.
 Virginian orpine.
 Beard tongue.
 Timothy grass.
 Ribbon grass.
 Lop-seed.
 Poke-weed.
 Fir tree.
 Hemlock.
 Double spruce.
 Single spruce.
 White pine.
 Tamarack.
 Red larch.
 Yellow pine.
 Pitch pine.
 Plantain.
 Button-ball tree.
 Meadow grass.

<i>Botanical Names.</i>	<i>Vulgar Names.</i>
<i>Poa compressa</i> ,	Blue grass.
<i>quinquefida</i> ,	Giant meadow grass.
<i>reptans</i> , (<i>Michaux.</i>)	Carpet grass.
<i>Polygala paucifolia</i> , (<i>Willd.</i>)	Flowering wintergreen.
<i>Polygonum punctatum</i> , (<i>Elliot.</i>)	Water pepper.
<i>aviculare</i> , (<i>Willd.</i>)	Knot grass.
<i>persicaria</i> ,	Ladies' thumb.
<i>pennsylvanicum</i> ,	Knee knot-weed.
<i>sagittatum</i> ,	Prickly knot-weed.
<i>arifolium</i> ,	Halbert knot-weed.
<i>convolvulus</i> ,	Bind knot-weed.
<i>scandens</i> ,*	Climbing buck-wheat.
<i>lapathifolium</i> , (<i>Muhl.</i>)	Sorrel knot-weed.
<i>Polypodium vulgare</i> , (<i>Willd.</i>)	Polypod.
<i>hexagonopterum</i> ,	—
<i>Populus tremuloides</i> , (<i>Michaux.</i>)	White poplar.
<i>grandidentata</i> ,	Tree poplar.
<i>angulata</i> ,	Water poplar.
<i>balsamifera</i> ,	Balsam poplar.
<i>Portulacca oleracea</i> , (<i>L.</i>)	Purslane.
<i>Potamogeton natans</i> , (<i>Michaux.</i>)	Broad-leaved pond-weed.
<i>fluitans</i> , (<i>Willd.</i>)	Long-leaved pond-weed.
<i>perfoliatum</i> , (<i>Mx.</i>)	Clasping pond-weed.
<i>gramineum</i> ,	Grass-leaved pond-weed.
<i>lucens</i> ,	Shining pond-weed.
<i>pectinatum</i> ,	Brittle-leaved pond-weed.
<i>compressum</i> ,	Flat-stemmed pond-weed.
<i>Potentilla norvegica</i> ,	Cinque-foil.
<i>anserina</i> ,	Goose cinque-foil.
<i>canadensis</i> ,	Common five-finger.
<i>Pothos foetida</i> , (<i>Michaux.</i>)	Skunk-cabbage.
<i>Prenanthes alba</i> , (<i>Willd.</i>)	White-lettuce.
<i>altissima</i> ,	—
<i>cordata</i> ,	—
<i>Prinos verticillatus</i> ,	Winterberry.
<i>Proserpinaca palustris</i> ,	Mermaid-weed.
<i>Prunella pennsylvanica</i> ,	Heal-all.
<i>Prunus virginiana</i> ,	Wild cherry.
<i>serotina</i> ,	Choke cherry.
<i>americana</i> , (<i>Muhl.</i>)	—
<i>Pteris aquilina</i> , (<i>Willd.</i>)	Common brake.
<i>Pyrola rotundifolia</i> ,	Shin leaf.
<i>secunda</i> ,	One-sided shin leaf.

* *P. scandens*. Large tracts of land on the Green Mountain, in this part of the state, which were burnt over in the year 1816, are now covered with an immense quantity of this plant, and the great willow herb, *Epilobium spicatum*.

*Botanical Names.**Vulgar Names.*

<i>Quercus tinctoria,</i>	Black oak.
<i>discolor,</i>	False red oak.
<i>coccinea,</i>	Scarlet oak.
<i>rubra,</i>	Red oak.
<i>olivae-formis,</i>	Mossy-cup oak.
<i>alba,</i>	White oak.
<i>montana,</i>	Mountain oak.
<i>bicolor,</i>	Swamp white oak.
<i>Ranunculus acris,</i>	Common crowfoot.
<i>fluviatilis,</i>	River crowfoot.
<i>abortivus,</i>	Small-flowered crowfoot.
<i>hirsutus, (Curtis.)</i>	Rough crowfoot.
<i>bulbosus, (Willd.)</i>	Bulbous crowfoot.
<i>sceleratus,</i>	Celery crowfoot.
<i>Rhus typhinum,</i>	Sumach.
<i>glabrum,</i>	Sleek sumach.
<i>copallinum,</i>	Mountain sumach.
<i>toxicodendron,</i>	Poison ash.
<i>Ribes floridum,</i>	Wild black currant.
<i>triflorum,</i>	Gooseberry.
<i>gracile,</i>	Smooth gooseberry.
<i>Rosa corymbosa,</i>	Swamp rose.
<i>parviflora,</i>	Wild rose.
<i>rubiginosa,</i>	Sweet briar.
<i>Rubus villosus,</i>	High blackberry.
<i>strigosus,</i>	Red raspberry.
<i>occidentalis,</i>	Black raspberry.
<i>trivialis, (Michaux.)</i>	Dewberry.
<i>saxatilis,</i>	Rock blackberry.
<i>odoratus, (Willd.)</i>	Flowering raspberry.
<i>Rumex crispus,</i>	Dock.
<i>obtusifolius,</i>	—
<i>verticillatus,</i>	—
<i>Sagittaria saggitifolia,</i>	Arrow-head.
<i>latifolia,</i>	—
<i>heterophylla,</i>	—
<i>Salix conifera,</i>	Cone-gall willow.
<i>nigra,</i>	Brittle-joint willow.
<i>lucida,</i>	Shining willow.
<i>vitellina,</i>	Yellow willow.
<i>Sambucus canadensis,</i>	Black elder.
<i>pubescens,</i>	Red elder.
<i>Samolus valerandi,</i>	Brook-weed.
<i>Sanguinaria canadensis,</i>	Blood-root.
<i>Sanicula marilandica,</i>	Sanicle.
<i>Satyrion bracteatum,</i>	Satyrion.

<i>Botanical Names.</i>	<i>Vulgar Names.</i>
Scirpus tenuis, acutus,	Club-rush.
Saxifraga nivalis,	Common bull-rush.
Scropularia marilandica,	Early saxifrage.
Scutellaria galericulata,	Fig-wort.
lateriflora,	Scull-cap.
Senecio hieracifolius,	Mad dog scull-cap.
aureus,	Fire-weed.
Serpicula occidentalis,	Rag-wort.
Sinapis nigra,	Little snake-weed.
Sison Candense,	Mustard.
Sisymbrium amphibium,	Hone-wort.
Sium latifolium,	Water radish.
Smilax rotundifolia,	Water parsnip.
peduncularis,	Green briar.
herbacea,	Jacob's ladder.
Smyrnum aureum,	—————
cordatum, (<i>Michaux.</i>)	Alexanders.
Solanum dulcamara, (<i>L.</i>)	—————
nigrum,	Bitter-sweet.
Solidago ciliaris, (<i>Willd.</i>)	Deadly night-shade.
altissima,	Fringed golden-rod.
arguta,	Variable golden-rod.
bicolor,	Sharp-notch golden-rod.
lanceolata,	White golden-rod.
latifolia,	Grass-leaf golden-rod.
virga-aurea,	Broad-leaf golden-rod.
Sonchus leucophaeus,	Mountain golden-rod.
oleraceus,	Sow thistle.
Sorbus Americana,	—————
Sparganium ramosum,	Mountain ash.
simplex,	Bur-reed.
natans ?	Flag bur-reed.
Spiraea salicifolia,	Slender bur-reed.
Staphylea trifolia,	White steeple bush.
Streptopus roseus, (<i>Michaux.</i>)	Bladder-nut.
Symphitum officinale, (<i>natural-</i>	Rose bell flower.
<i>ized.</i>)	Comfrey.
Tanacetum vulgare, (<i>naturalized.</i>)	Tansey.
Taxus canadensis,	Dwarf yew.
Thalictrum dioicum,	Meadow rue.
cornuti,	—————
polygamum,	—————
Thesium umbellatum,	False toad flax.
Thlaspi bursa-pastoris,	Shepherd's purse.
campestris,	Yellow seed.
Thuja occidentalis,	American arbor-vitae.

<i>Botanical Names.</i>	<i>Vulgar Names.</i>
<i>Tiarella cordifolia</i> ,	Miter-wort.
<i>Tilia glabra</i> ,	Bass-wood.
<i>pubescens</i> ,	Crop-ear bass-wood.
<i>Trichodium laxiflorum</i> , (<i>Michaux.</i>)	Light hair.
<i>Trichophorum cyperinum</i> ,	Clump grass.
<i>Trientalis americana</i> , (<i>Pursh.</i>)	Chick wintergreen.
<i>Trifolium pratense</i> , (<i>Willd.</i>)	Red clover.
<i>repens</i> ,	White clover.
<i>arvense</i> ,	Rabbit-foot clover.
<i>Trillium erectum</i> , (<i>Pursh.</i>)	Wake-robin.
<i>cernuum</i> ,	Nodding wake-robin.
<i>pictum</i> ,	Smiling wake-robin.
<i>Triticum repens</i> , (<i>Willd.</i>)	Couch grass.
<i>Turritis hirsuta</i> ,	Tower mustard.
<i>Tussilago farfara</i> ,	Colt's-foot.
<i>Typha latifolia</i> ,	Cat-tail flag.
<i>Ulmus americana</i> ,	White elm.
<i>fulva</i> ,	Red elm,
<i>Urtica dioica</i> ,	Common nettle.
<i>procera</i> ,	Great nettle.
<i>divaricata</i> ,	-----
<i>pumila</i> ,	Clear-weed.
<i>canadensis</i> ,	Canada nettle.
<i>Utricularia vulgaris</i> ,	Bladder-wort.
<i>Uvularia perfoliata</i> ,	Clasping bell-wort.
<i>sessilifolia</i> ,	Sessile-leaved bell-wort.
<i>Vaccinium frondosum</i> ,	Blue whortleberry.
<i>resinosum</i> ,	Black whortleberry.
<i>corymbosum</i> ,	Giant whortleberry.
<i>Vallisneria spiralis</i> ,*	Tape grass.
<i>Veratrum viride</i> ,	White hellebore.
<i>Verbascum thapsus</i> ,	Mullein.
<i>Verbena hastata</i> ,	Purple vervain.
<i>urticifolia</i> ,	White vervain.
<i>Vernonia noveboracensis</i> ,	Flat-top.
<i>Veronica beccabunga</i> ,	Brook lime.
<i>serpyllifolia</i> ,	Paul's betony.
<i>scutellata</i> ,	Scull-cap, speedwell.
<i>peregrina</i> ,	Purslane speedwell.
<i>Viburnum oxycoccus</i> , (<i>Pursh.</i>)	High Cranberry.
<i>lentago</i> , (<i>Willd.</i>)	Sheepberry.
<i>lantanoides</i> , (<i>Michaux.</i>)	Hobble bush.

* *Vallisneria spiralis*. This singular plant grows plentifully in the Otter Creek, at Middlebury, and here, as well as in the Hudson, at Albany, it has the peduncle of the pistillate flower spiral, both in deep and shallow water.

<i>Botanical Names.</i>	<i>Vulgar Names.</i>
Viburnum acerifolium, (<i>Willd.</i>)	Maple guelder rose.
dentatum,	Arrow wood.
pyrifolium, (<i>Pursh.</i>)	Pear-leaf sheepberry.
pubescens,	—
Vicia sativa,	Tare.
Viola asarifolia, (<i>Muhl.</i>)	Kidney-leaf violet.
blanda, (<i>Willd.</i>)	Smooth violet.
obliqua,	Twisted violet.
cucullata,	Blue violet.
clandestina, (<i>Pursh.</i>)	Ground violet.
canadensis,	Woods violet.
striata,	Striped violet.
rostrata,	Beaked violet.
pubescens, (<i>Willd.</i>)	Yellow violet.
Vitis labrusca, (<i>Michaux.</i>)	Fox grape.
cordifolia,	Frost grape.
Xanthium strumarium, (<i>Willd.</i>)	Clott-bur.
Xylosteum ciliatum,	Twinberry.
Zanthoxylum fraxineum,	Prickly ash.

DONATIONS RECEIVED FOR THE TOWN OF BOSTON DURING THE SIEGE.

1775.

<i>Jan.</i> 30.	BARNSTABLE, cash, . . .	12	10	8
	Salem, north parish, . . .	45		
	Ditto, ...	114	9	
	Mansfield, ...	28	0	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Attleborough, ...	33	11	7
	Unknown, ...	3		
	North Providence, ...	18	2	4
	William Johnson Rysoon, ...	16	6	
<i>Feb.</i> 6.	Danvers, ...	13	13	6
	Wellfleet, ...	7	10	8
	Yarmouth, east parish, ...	7	4	8
	Newburyport, ...	202	10	2
	Kittery, ...	41	3	2
	Carried over,	£ 52	7	12 10

1775.	Brought over,	527	12	10½
Feb. 6.	Middleton, ...	22	9	1
	Rehoboth, ...	6	0	2
	Ditto, ...	2	6	2
	Berwick, south parish, ...	11	6	8
	Ditto, north parish, ...	2	2	
	From a lady unknown, ...	7	1	
	Portsmouth, N. H.	200		
	Eastham, corn, 50 bushels, ...	10		
	Falmouth, wood, 51½	30	18	
	Cape Elizabeth, do. 44½, ...	26	14	
13.	Biddeford, Joseph Morrill, ...	12		
	Southborough, ...	5	0	9
	Scarborough, ...	11	4	3
	Sturbridge, three gentlemen, ...	1	0	4
	Sandisfield, ...	6	9	8
	Beverly, cash, £ 31 9 10, and } sundries amounting to }	41	10	4
	Ditto, July 22, cash, ...	14	2	1
	Brookfield, rye, 9 bushels.			
	Greenwich, grain, 11½ do,			
	Wells, cash, ...	9	1	1
	and wood, 26¾ cords.			

New Hampshire.

Exeter, ...	100
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Connecticut.

Lyme—Joseph, Joseph, Jun. }	5	6
Christopher Higgins, }		
Glassenbury—Ebenezer Plummer, 6	13	4
Groton, sheep, 128, cattle, 7; re- ceived October 14.		

Virginia.

Wheat, 2898 bushels,	
Corn, 498 do.	
Flour, barrels 22,	
Calavances, 5 bushels.	

Carried over, £ 1047 9 9½

1775. Brought over, 1047 9 9½
New Jersey.

Feb. 13. Hunterdon County, ... 80

Massachusetts.

20. Brookfield, corn, . . 19 bushels,
 Northborough, grain 80 do.
 cheese, 36 lbs.
 pork, 61 do.
 cash, ... 10 19 4
 Milton, wood, 55 loads, 24 cords.
 Littleton, cash, ... 4 3 0½
 grain, 26 bushels, 1 check'd
 handkerchief, home made, pink
 flowers, ½ lb.
 Cambridge, cash, ... 31 4 6½
 grain, bushels 37, and meal—
 7 pair men's shoes, potatoes,
 2 bushels, turnips, 1 bushel,
 wood, 17 loads.
 Brookline, cash, ... 25 7 6½
 corn, 9 bushels, 18½ do. pota-
 toes, cabbages 48, wood 1 cord.
 *Concord, cash, ... 11 4 6½
 118 bushels meal,
 *Lunenburg, wheat, 4 bushels,
 rye, 82 do.
 Indian, 2 do.
 *Lincoln, cash. 1 15 5
 meal, 29 bushels,
 wood, 19 loads.
 *Dracut, cash, ... 3 17 1
 meal, 45½ bushels.
 *Acton, cash, ... 3 17
 grain, 41½ bushels,
 pork and beef, 32 lbs.
 Shrewsbury, grain, 53 bushels.

Carried over, £ 1219 18 3½

* Those towns marked * delivered their donations to Charlestown.

1775. Brought over, 1219 18 3½

Connecticut.

Feb. 20. Joseph Dennison, Jun.

cheese, 80 lbs.

13½ bushels corn,	} <i>Part of the donation from Cambridge and Charles- town.</i>
4 do. rye,	
17 loads of wood,	
9 bush. potatoes,	
1 do. turnips,	

Massachusetts.

27. Gentleman unknown, ... 1 14 8

Gentleman in the country, ... 2

Chilmark, Martha's Vineyard, 6 10

Brookline, 2 fat sheep, 2 cwt. rice,

Bolton, 33 bushels grain,

Sandwich, ... 19

Malden, Rev. Mr. Willis's parish, 3 1

1 pair women's shoes, 1 ton

hay, and 2 loads of wood.

Lancaster, second parish, ... 12

and 78 bushels grain.

Truro, ... 11 16

Sturbridge, cash, ... 4 13

2 barrels and 1 bag meal, 5 bar-

rels and 1 tierce rye and wheat,

1 barrel pork, and 1 barrel

malt.

Connecticut.

Preston, ... 18 13

Pennsylvania.

Dover, Kent county, on the De-

laware, ... 80

Canada.

Montreal, ... 100 4

Carried over, £ 1468 1 11½

1775. Brought over, 1468 1 11½

Massachusetts.

March 6.	Roxbury, second parish, cash,	15	12	
	grain, 3 bushels,			
	wood, 13½ cords,			
	cheese, 40 lbs.			
	Brookline, 1 load of wood.			
	Dedham, 46 cords ditto.			
	Plympton, cash, ...	4	16	
	Medway, east parish, cash, . . .	7	2	
	and cheese, 53½ lbs.			
	Sturbridge, Nathaniel and Josiah			
	Walker, ...	15		
	Danvers, north parish, cash,	26	15	4
	10 pair shoes,			
	check, 8½ yards,			
	thread, 2 ounces,			
	1 pair moose-skin breeches.			
	Nantucket, Rev. Mr. Shaw's			
	parish, ...	26	16	9

Rhode Island.

Providence, from the Committee				
of Inspection, ...	16	16	1	

Virginia.

Via St. Eustatia, cargo of corn				
blown off the coast, ...	128	11		

South Carolina.

Roger Smith, Esq. dollars, 328½,				
amount from the inhabitants,	98	13	3	

Massachusetts.

13. *Marblehead, from the Commit-				
tee, ...	120			
Bradford, 35 pair shoes, and cash,	18	14	10	
Malden, Rev. Mr. Thacher's				
parish, ...	9	13		

Carried over, £ 1942 7 2½

* The MS. here is not plain. Ed.

1775. Brought over, 1942 7 2½
 March 13. Duxborough, wood, 21 cords.
 Roxbury, unknown lbs. beef.
 Boston, do. do.

Virginia.

Wheat, 735 bushels,
 Corn, 25 do.
 Flour, 3 barrels,
 Bread, 3 do.

Massachusetts.

Dedham, wood, 48 cords.
 20. Gloucester, Cape Ann, cash, 117 0 4
 Eastham, north parish, . . . 7 16
 Marshpee, Mr. Hawley's parish, 18
 Yarmouth, west parish, . . . 5 6 8
 Plymouth, Mr. Nathaniel Good-
 win, corn, 20 bushels.

Virginia.

Westmoreland county,
 corn, 1002 bushels,
 wheat, 90 do.

Philadelphia.

Flour, 300 barrels,
 Bar iron, 3 tons,
 Nail rods, 3 do.

Rhode Island.

Newport, cash, ... 78 3 9

Massachusetts,

27. George-town, first parish, . . . 6
 Capt. William Rogers of ditto, 2 8
 Old Hadley, ... 2 13 4
 Scituate, third parish, ... 5 6 8
 Hatfield, ... 12 15 3

Carried over, £ 2180 15 2½

164 DONATIONS TO BOSTON DURING THE SIEGE.

1775.	Brought over,	2180	15	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
March 27.	Plymouth, Committee Inspection,	31	5	6
	Brookfield, second precinct,		12	
	corn, 14 bushels,			
	rye, 30 do.			
	Berkley, ...	8	1	7
	Bridgewater, ...	6	15	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
	flax, 344 lbs.			
	wool, 3 do.			
	tobacco, 9 do.			
	shovels, iron, 2,			
	1 spinning wheel.			
	Falmouth, second parish,			
	wood, 30 $\frac{1}{2}$ cords.			
	Gorham-town, wood, 8 cords.			
	Gentleman unknown, ...	19	8	
	Duxbury, ...	4	8	
	Salem, Committee Inspection,	109	9	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Falmouth, in the county of Barn-			
	stable, ...	5	15	8
	<i>New Hampshire.</i>			
	South Hampton, ...	10		
	<i>Rhode Island.</i>			
	Newport, cash, ...	70	10	
	Committee Inspection, ...	7	13	8
	<i>South Carolina,</i>			
	Via New York, ...	139	18	0 $\frac{3}{4}$
	<i>Dominica.</i>			
	Cocoa, 2 cwt. 2 qrs.			
	<i>Massachusetts.</i>			
April 3	Newbury, first parish, ...	46	4	2
	Marlborough, cash, ...	32	18	2
	1 pair shoes,			
	3 qrs. beef,			
	Carried over,	£ 2655	6	11 $\frac{1}{2}$

1775.	Brought over,	2655	6	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
April 3.	rye, 24 bushels,			
	meal, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ do.			
	malt, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ do.			
	cheese, 80 lbs.			
	Tisbury, cash, ...	12		
	Scituate, first parish, do.	6	15	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Dartmouth, do.	50	17	3
	Roxbury, third parish, ...	20	4	7
	pork, 51 lbs.			
	wood, 5 cords,			
	potatoes, 18 bushels,			
	cabbages, 6 dozen,			
	turnips, 1 bushel.			
	Norton, cash, ...	7	2	10

New Jersey.

Elizabeth-town, cash, ... 75

Rhode Island.

Providence, cash, ... 51

South Carolina.

10. Rice, ... 45 1 8

Pennsylvania.

Dover, ... 80

Connecticut.

Stratford,
rye, 30 bushels,
wheat, 6 do.

Massachusetts.

Christian-town on Martha's Vine-
yard; Indian natives, ... 2 1
17. Unknown hands, ... 90 9
Monson,
2 cwt. 9 lbs. wheat flour,

Carried over, £ 3095 19 2 $\frac{3}{4}$

1775.	Brought over,	3095	19	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
<i>April</i> 17.	tobacco, 17 lbs.			
	8 cwt. 1 qr. 14 lbs. rye flour,			
	5 bushels rye meal,			
	2 pair hose,			
	butter, 12 lbs.			
	Hanover, from a lady unknown,	2	8	
	<i>South Carolina.</i>			
	Rice, sold at New York, . . .	33	6	8
		£ 3131	13	10 $\frac{3}{4}$

[Our printer having followed the MS. communicated by a friend, we ought to observe, that the foregoing benefactions were made during the operation of the Port Bill, and not the siege, hostilities having begun only two days after the last were received.]

ACCOUNT OF PROVIDENCE, R. I.

[THE Historical Account of the Planting and Growth of Providence, which the Society now publish, is taken from Nos. 117, 118, 120, 121, 122, 126, 128 of the Providence Gazette, from 12 January to 30 March, 1765. Soon after, the publication of that newspaper was interrupted by the disastrous occurrences of the times, or we might probably have been gratified with a continuance of the narrative to later times. The tract has been usually ascribed to the venerable STEPHEN HOPKINS, who for eight years had been governour of the colony, and served in that office one year after, but is better known as one of the signers of the declaration of independence. It has become very scarce.]

Extract from Publisher's Address.

It being imagined that an historical account of the planting and growth of Providence, would be worthy the publick attention, and redound to the honour of this paper, a gentleman of the first distinction, a true friend to his country, enabled the publisher to begin the work in the first number of this paper, but some necessary memorials being then wanting, for the accurate performance

of it, and some important business intervening, it was obliged to be laid aside, for some future time.—The war we were then engaged in being terminated, and the author having furnished himself with proper materials for prosecuting the undertaking, it is now resumed, and will occasionally make its appearance in this paper till the whole is completed.—The first part being published so long since, and many kind readers had not the advantage of it, it is thought proper to reprint it, for their benefit, with the continuation.—And as all nations, in all ages, have ever been desirous of registering their genealogies, from their original foundations in the records of time, it is not doubted but this attempt will meet with the publick applause, and in some measure demonstrate the sincerity of the publisher's professions, as well as afford a specimen of his future intentions in the service of the publick ; —for by this history, we may be acquainted with the resolution, the sufferings, the hardships, the fatigues and cares, the wants, and even the blood expended by our forefathers, in laying the foundation of our now peaceable, happy settlements, and therewith the inestimable enjoyments of civil and religious liberty.

An Historical Account of the Planting and Growth of Providence.

THE unhappy disputes that raged in England, both in church and state, in the reigns of King James the First, and King Charles the First, although they were the immediate cause of infinite mischiefs in that kingdom, in the times they happened, yet were they also the remote cause of very great advantages to the English nation afterwards : Among which advantages, the peopling of New England, occasioned by those disputes, may be esteemed one of the most considerable.

The first planting of New England was begun by Mr. John Carver, and about one hundred other English subjects ; who, being persecuted in England for not con-

forming in every punctilio to the established church, for the sake of worshipping God according to their consciences, left their native country, with all its conveniences and delights, and arrived at Cape Cod in the month of November, in the year 1620; where they landed in the depth of winter, having no houses or shelter to cover them from the injuries of the weather, endured incredible hardships, and passed through unparalleled sufferings; and, supported only by a noble fortitude of mind, and the consciousness of well-doing, they gloriously effected the settlement of New Plymouth, the first of the New England colonies.

Near ten years afterwards, in the year 1630, Mr. John Winthrop, with many other gentlemen, and about fifteen hundred people, left their native country for the same cause; and came over first to Salem, and from thence to Charlestown, from whence they dispersed themselves to Dorchester, Watertown, and Boston; and effectually begun the settlement of the Massachusetts Bay, the second of the New England colonies.

With this second colony came over Mr. Roger Williams; of whose life, before his coming to America, we know little more, than that he had a liberal education; and was sometime pupil of Sir Edward Coke, the famous English lawyer. Soon after his coming to Salem, he was made assistant in the ministry to Mr. Samuel Skelton, the first minister of that town. Before he had been long in this station, some difference in opinion arose between Mr. Skelton and him, and to prevent its increase, Mr. Williams removed to Plymouth, and became minister of the church there; but some disputes happening here also between him and some of his church, he did not continue long with them, but returned to Salem, and finding Mr. Skelton now in a declining state of health, he again assisted him in the ministry. After Mr. Skelton's death, which soon happened, Mr. Williams was made sole minister of the church of Salem, and continued so for some time, much esteemed as a preacher, and greatly beloved by most of his church. Yet some of his tenets were looked upon as dangerous, and heterodox, by

the lesser, but ruling part of them.—Such were his asserting, “that the king of England had no right to take the lands in America from the Indians and give them to his own subjects:” And also, “that an universal liberty of conscience ought to be allowed to all, in religious matters. For these opinions, Mr. Williams was at length called to an account, and openly justifying them, he was for this offence deprived of his ministry, and banished from Salem, and the Massachusetts colony. In consequence of this sentence, Mr. Williams was sent into the wilderness to shift for himself. But so great was the love of some of his church for him, that they would not forsake him even in this extreme distress; and twelve of them voluntarily went into exile, and the solitary wilderness with him.—Without any guide but heaven they wandered southward, and came to a place called Seaconk; and thinking they were now far enough removed from their offended brethren, designed to sit down there; But it seems, the fame of their heretical opinions had reached to Plymouth, and thereupon an officer was sent from thence to order them to depart out of that colony also.

Being now quite forlorn, this officer kindly informed them, that the arm of the bay, then near them, was the western boundary of the Plymouth colony. They therefore once more removed, and found means to transport themselves over this arm of the bay, now called Seaconk River, and came to a place by the Indians called Moshasuck. As they now found themselves in the country of the Narraganset Indians, Mr. Williams applied to the sachem or king of that people, whose name was Conanicut, truly stated his unhappy case to him, and begged his protection, which this noble prince kindly granted to him and his associates, and also generously made them a present of all that neck of land lying between the mouths of Pawtucket and Moshasuck Rivers, that they might sit down in peace upon it, and enjoy it forever. Upon this neck of land, given them by the beneficent sachem, they settled themselves in the best manner their very poor, and truly deplorable circumstances would admit of; be-

ing quite destitute of every necessary, as well as convenience of life, and entirely cut off from all communication with every part of mankind, except the savages. Even those with whom they had so lately left their native country, for the same cause of religion, were now become their greatest persecutors, and most cruel enemies. This settlement was the feeble beginning of the third New England colony, first planted sometime in the year 1634, by the renowned and worthy Mr. Roger Williams, and his twelve poor suffering companions, namely, John Throckmorton, William Arnold, William Harris, Stukely Westcott, John Greene, Thomas Olney, Richard Waterman, Thomas James, Robert Cole, William Carpenter, Francis Weston, and Ezekiel Holliman.

This small company Mr. Williams formed into a church; and on that occasion piously observed to his brethren, that the providence of God had found out a place for them among savages, where they might peaceably worship God according to their consciences; a privilege which had been denied them in all the Christian countries they had ever been in.—In thankfulness for this greatest of blessings, he named the place where they were settled, PROVIDENCE. As they were all fully sensible of the horrid mischiefs, and atrocious sin of persecution, they established an universal liberty of conscience, as well for all others who should come and settle with them, as for themselves: And this natural right of all mankind, has been inviolably maintained throughout the colony to this day. Liberty of conscience being settled in this, and denied in the two neighbouring colonies, soon brought more of those to join with them, whose faith did not exactly agree with the fixed standards there; and in a short time afterwards, there were added to the church at Providence, Robert Williams, John Smith, Hugh Bewit, William Wickenden, John Field, Thomas Hopkins, and William Hawkins.

Having given this short account of these planters, in their several migrations, until they are at last settled at Providence, let us stand still for a moment, and view them in this their very indigent condition; equally

admire their sufferings, and their patience, and wonder how they could possibly live, quite destitute of every necessary, and every conveniency of life : having no magazine of provisions, or stores of any kind ; no domestick animal to assist them in their labour, or afford them sustenance ; no utensils or husbandry tools, to facilitate their tilling the earth ; nothing to help themselves with, but their hands ; nothing to depend on, but God's goodness, their own endeavours, and the charity of savages.

Nor house, nor hut, or fruitful field,
Nor lowing herd, nor bleating flock ;
Or garden, that might comfort yield,
No cheerful, early-crowing cock.

No orchard, yielding pleasant fruit,
Or labouring ox, or useful plough ;
Nor neighing steed, or browsing goat,
Or grunting swine, or foodful cow.

No friend to help, no neighbour nigh,
Nor healing medicine to restore ;
No mother's hand, to close the eye,
Alone, forlorn, and most extremely poor.

Nothing but extreme diligence, and matchless perseverance, could possibly have carried them through this undertaking ; could have procured them the scanty morsels which supported a life of want and of innocence. Too much have we their descendants departed from the diligence, fortitude, frugality, and innocence of these our fathers. While we enjoy the blessings they procured for us, live at ease, and fare sumptuously, we little think, we too little remember, that they from whom we have received all our conveniences, were destitute of every thing themselves : When we live luxuriously, we seldom call to mind the sufferings of these patriarchs, who wanted even the bread of affliction. The poor unhappy Indians have had an ungrateful return for their kindness to the first settlers : they who received and cherished our ancestors in their distress, were rather despised than relieved, when we had got their country from them, when we had changed conditions with them, and they in their turn were in distress ;—but they were heathens, they were sa-

vages :—A poor excuse for ingratitude, or want of charity in Christians.

The indigent condition of these planters, the necessity they were under to labour continually, for the support of themselves and families, was most probably the reason they left scarce any memorials behind them in writing of what happened, or was transacted during the first nine years after their coming to Providence. Mr. Williams was certainly very capable of writing, and seems to have delighted in it, when circumstances afterwards afforded him an opportunity ; several of his companions also wrote many things afterwards : Therefore, this total neglect of writing for so long a time, must be attributed to their necessitous condition ; and perhaps to the want of even paper to write on : This appears the more probable, as the first of their writings, that are to be found, appear on small scraps of paper, wrote as thick and crowded as full as possible. Whatever might be the occasion of it, this want of authentick materials for so long a time, will make it impossible to mention many interesting matters, that must necessarily happen during this period : However, tradition has furnished us with some things, and the writings made afterwards, near the time, have taken notice of others, that may be fully depended on.

Soon after the first planting of Providence, and within the same year, 1634, Mr. Williams purchased of Conan-icus, the Indian king, a large tract of land, lying between Pawtucket River, and Pawtuxet River, and to extend up the stream of each river, twenty miles from the sea. This purchase includes all the lands which now make the towns of Providence, Smithfield, Scituate, Gloucester, Cranston, and Johnston. What consideration was given the sachem for this land, we are not informed ; whatever it was, it seems to have been paid by Mr. Williams alone. This I conjecture from a remonstrance of his to the town of Providence, in his own hand writing, in the year 1654, in which he expostulates with the people for their disorders, and great animosities ; and upbraids them with their great ingratitude to heaven, and to himself, in the following words : “ I am like a man in a fog ;

I know not well how to steer ; I fear to run upon rocks at home, after having had many trials abroad ; I fear to run quite backwards, and to undo all that I have been this long time undoing myself to do : To wit, To keep up the name of a people, a free people ; not enslaved, in body or soul, to the bondages and iron yokes of oppression, both of the English and barbarians about us ; nor to the divisions and disorders within ourselves. Since I set the first step of any English foot in these wild parts, and have maintained a chargeable and hazardous correspondence with the barbarians, and spent almost five years time with the state of England, to keep off the rage of the English against us, what have I reaped of being the root, of being the stepping-stone to so many families and towns about us, but grief and sorrow and bitterness ? I have been charged with folly, for that freedom and liberty I have always stood for ; I say liberty and equality, both in land and government. I have been blamed for parting with Moshasuck, and afterwards Pawtucket, *which were mine own as truly as any man's coat upon his back*, without reserving to myself one foot of land, or one inch of voice, more than to my servants, or strangers. It hath been told me that I have laboured for a licentious and contentious people,—that I have foolishly parted with many advantages.”—What makes me suppose Mr. Williams paid the whole consideration of this first and great purchase, is, his saying as above, that these lands were his own as truly as any man's coat on his back : However this might be, 'tis certain he immediately made his twelve companions equal proprietors with himself, both in the lands given by the sachem, and those he had purchased of him. And those who came afterwards and settled in Providence, were generally, for a small consideration, admitted to be equal sharers in the greater part of these lands, until the whole number of proprietors came at length to an hundred.

It is most probable these first settlers did not bring their wives and families with them at their first coming, and that they were not removed to Providence, until sometime in the year 1637 ; for we have heard by tradi-

tion, and I believe truly, that the first male child born there, was Mr. Williams's eldest son, and whom he, for that reason, named Providence; and this child appears by the records to have been born in the month of September, 1638: But a female child had been born there some time before, although in the same year.

Near the time that Providence was first began, one Mr. William Blackstone came and settled by the side of Pawtucket River, near the southern part of that which is now the town of Cumberland. He was a man of learning, and had received Episcopal ordination in England, and seems to have been of the puritan persuasion, and to have left his native country for his nonconformity; at what time is quite unknown: But when the Massachusetts colony first came to America, they found him settled on that peninsula where the town of Boston now stands; he had been there so long as to have raised apple trees and planted an orchard. Upon his invitation, the principal part of that colony removed from Charlestown thither, and began the town on the land he generously gave them for that purpose. However, it was not long before a new kind of nonconformity obliged him to leave the remainder of his estate on that renowned peninsula, to these numerous new comers, and to remove a second time into the wilderness. On this occasion he made use of these remarkable expressions, "I left England to get from under the power of the lord bishops, but in America I am fallen under the power of the lord brethren." At this his new plantation he lived uninterrupted for many years, and there again raised an orchard, the first that ever bore apples in the colony of Rhode Island: He had the first of that sort called yellow sweetings, that were ever in the world, perhaps, the richest and most delicious apple of the whole kind: Many of the trees, which he planted about one hundred and thirty years ago, are still pretty thrifty fruit-bearing trees. Mr. Blackstone used frequently to come to Providence, to preach the gospel; and to encourage his younger hearers, gave them the first apples they ever saw. It is said, that when he was old, and unable to travel on foot, and not having any horse, he used to ride on

a bull, which he had tamed and tutored to that use. His family is now extinct.

The fame of the good lands on the borders of Connecticut River, invited some people from the Massachusetts thither, who, in the year 1635, viewed those lands, examined and found out the most suitable places for, and made some preparations toward a settlement; and the next year, 1636, a large number of people removed from the Massachusetts; some of the principal of which were Mr. Hains, who, as I suppose, was the year before governor of that province, Mr. Hopkins, first governor of Connecticut, Mr. Hooker, first minister of Hartford, Mr. Ludlow, and others, and made an effectual settlement of the towns of Hartford, Weathersfield and Windsor, all on the banks of the said river. This was the beginning of Connecticut, the fourth of the New England colonies; which seems not to have been began for the same cause, that the other three which preceded it were; that is, to avoid persecution, and enjoy liberty of conscience; but the people were induced to make this remove to better their circumstances; and indeed the choice they made of a place to remove to, hath fully vindicated their judgment to succeeding generations; being seated by the sides of much the largest and finest river in New England, which is capable of affording, perhaps, the most extensive water carriage of any river that empties into the sea between Carolina and the Bay of St. Lawrence; and which, like the famed Nile, annually, about the beginning of April, overflows and fertilizes all the intervals and low lands near it. Yet not in the exceeding fruitfulness of these low lands only, does this colony exceed, but even their hill lands, both for pasturage and for tilling, have been found, by experience, to produce much better than the other lands in New England.

The following year, 1637, a settlement was begun at New Haven, by a number of people directly from England, under the leading of Mr. Eaton and Mr. Davenport; doubtless for the same reason the first three were planted, because they were not permitted, in their native country, to worship God in the manner they thought most accep

able to him. This settlement had, for some time, the name of the colony of New Haven, and was the fifth planted in New England ; but, in process of time, came to be united to, and swallowed up in the name of that of Connecticut, as New Plymouth also was in the Massachusetts.

Some time in the same year, 1637, the first war broke out in New England, between the English and the Indians ; this was with a powerful nation, or tribe called Pequots, who dwelt in the south-eastern part of the colony of Connecticut, and chiefly on the lands which now make the towns of Stonington and Groton. The occasion of this war was doubtless a jealousy in the Indians of the increasing numbers and growing power of the English, who they saw had already dispersed themselves into all the principal parts of New England, and whose strength grew daily greater, by the addition of new comers, that joined them in their various plantations : That the manner in which they improved the land, and fed their domestick animals, some of which were now in the country, must in a short time cut them off from the sea coasts, and quite deprive them of their various fisheries, and at the same time destroy their game in the woods, and in the end quite ruin their hunting. These being the principal sources of their scanty livelihood, no body can wonder they were alarmed at the dreadful mischiefs which threatened them ; and at length determined to extirpate by war, the late arrived people, who occasioned the danger, before their numbers and power were too much increased. Indeed, this was by much the most probable attempt ever made by the Indians, to cut off the English settlers, yet, as it were, in their very infancy, and now also greatly dispersed ; Connecticut not of two years standing ; Providence, though a year older, had but a handful of people ; the Massachusetts had been planted only seven years ; and Plymouth, that began seventeen years before, had not yet increased to any considerable number. Had these Indians succeeded in their attempts to unite all the neighbouring nations and tribes in this war, as a common cause, in which the loss or preservation of their country, and all

they had was concerned, it must have been very difficult, if not impossible for the English, under their present circumstances, to have defended themselves against so great a number of enemies : For it is said, at this time the Narragansets alone had four thousand fighting men ; by which some guess may be made of the strength of the other Indian nations who dwelt in New England. Here we shall have occasion to view Mr. Williams in, perhaps, the most useful and important part of his life : We have already seen him the founder of one colony, but must now consider him as a principal instrument in preserving them all. He, by great application, had made himself master of the Indian language, and by a courteous behaviour to the natives, and a conduct honest and quite disinterested, had made himself highly respected by the Narraganset sachems and all their people, and had at this time much more influence over them, than any other man ever had at any time. And as Joseph was sold by his envious brethren, with intent to get him out of their way, yet Divine Providence overruled this cruel action quite otherwise than they intended, and made it the means of their future preservation ; so the harsh treatment and cruel exile of Mr. Williams, seem designed by his brethren for the same evil end, but was, by the goodness of the same overruling hand, turned to the most beneficent purposes. For no sooner was it known that the Pequots meditated a war with the English, than they, from every colony, applied to Mr. Williams, to use his influence with the Narragansets, and to prevent, if possible, their joining with the Pequots, in making war with them. This service he cheerfully undertook, and succeeded in it beyond their warmest expectations ; for he prevailed with the Narraganset Indians, not only to remain in peace with the English, but to declare openly for them, and act offensively against the Pequots. This conduct of the most powerful nation in this part of the country, threw such a damp on the other neighbouring nations, that none of them joined with the Pequots, but left them to prosecute this war by themselves, and in which they were overcome by the English and their Indian allies ; and the war was

soon ended in the almost total extirpation of the whole Pequot race.

In the beginning of the following year, 1638, Rhode Island, by the Indians called Aquetneck, was settled by a number of people that came from Boston, and some of the other towns near it. This settlement had its beginning from the same cause that most of the others in New England had; to wit, religious disputes. The departure of Mr. Williams, and those who left the Massachusetts with him, or had since followed them, did not put an end to these controversies, but they kept increasing, and spreading further and further: One pretended error produced many more of the same kind, and so fruitful was this metaphysical mischief, that a synod being convened at Cambridge, in the year 1637, it very soon picked up, debated and condemned eighty-errours, and like other synods before them, denied all mercy to those they supposed held these errours, both in this world and the world to come.

God Almighty, in the early age of the world, confounded the language of mankind, while they remained in the plains of Shinar, and by that means caused them to disperse and people the whole earth; so in the times I am writing of, he seems to have permitted discord, censoriousness, and the most unforgiving temper of mind to prevail universally among the people, and to have made it a means of planting most parts of New England. When we look back upon these people, who were men of strong natural powers, and many of them had much learning; had lately left their native country, and all its delights, forsook all for Christ's sake and the gospel, and removed into a wilderness; were poor, were laborious, were pious, sincere Christians; were devout and zealous to a fault; supported the most unblameable moral character of any people in any age or country; when after all this, and much more that might be truly said in their favour, to see them worrying one another without remorse, for mere trifles; to view them pursuing each other to banishment, and even to death, as though they had dissolved every social engagement, and cut asunder every tender tie, and were

abandoned to furious madness, and unrelenting cruelty, —what shall we say?—what can we think?—We can only deplore the miserable imperfections of human nature, and stand amazed at the stupendous miscarriages of the best of men!

The matters in dispute, and which were the ground of all these mighty contentions, and keen animosities, consisted chiefly in fine-spun subtilties, and useless metaphysical niceities; from the knowledge, belief, or disbelief of which, mankind could be made neither wiser or better. Indeed, in what manner our religious ideas ought to be ranged, that is, which ought properly to precede, and which follow, was the principal point in dispute: And this grand unintelligible question, raised such contentions, and bred such uneasiness in the churches in the Massachusetts colony, that many of considerable note, for piety, for estate and family, and for usefulness, came to a determination to remove once more into the wilderness, quite out of, and beyond the limits claimed by any of the colonies yet settled. The principal of these was William Coddington, Esq. the father of Rhode Island; he was a gentleman of family, and of a competent fortune, was chosen an assistant of the Massachusetts colony, while they were in England, and came over to America with the governour, the charter, and the colony, in 1630, settled at Boston, and was one of its first and most considerable merchants. Mr. John Clark was another; a man of sound understanding, sufficient knowledge, and much usefulness; who was afterwards this colony's agent in England, and procured its present charter; he gathered, and was minister of the first Baptist church at Rhode Island.—Those who joined with them in this resolution to remove, were William Hutchinson, John Coggeshall, William Aspinwall, Samuel Wilbore, John Porter, John Sandford, Edward Hutchinson, Thomas Savage, William Dyre, William Freeborn, Philip Shearman, John Walker, Richard Carder, William Baulston, Edward Hutchinson, jun. and Henry Bull.

These having resolved to remove, sent Mr. John Clark, and another with him, to Providence, to advise with Mr.

Williams on the business, and to be informed where they might find a convenient place to make their new settlement. Mr. Williams recommended two places to their consideration, one by the Indians called So-wames, being the lands in and about the present town of Warren; the other, the Island called Aquetneck, now Rhode Island: But as they were determined to go out of every other jurisdiction, that they might, if possible, avoid future controversies, and were in doubt whether these lands were not within the claim of Plymouth colony; for clearing up that doubt, Mr. Williams accompanied Mr. Clark to Plymouth, where they were informed, that So-wames, was within, and esteemed as the very garden of that colony; but that they had no claim to Aquetneck, and advised them to settle there, where they should be esteemed and treated as friends and neighbours. Upon that island they therefore now determined to sit down, if they could procure it of the Indians; and in order to do that, they prevailed on Mr. Williams to apply to the Narraganset sachem in their behalf, and, if possible, make a purchase of the said island for them. The king, or sachem of the Narraganset Indians, at this time, and perhaps a year or two before, was the young Myantonomo; Conanicus his uncle, having had the government of the kingdom, and guardianship of the young prince, during his minority, had, when he came to an age fit to govern, delivered the regal authority, into the hands of this his nephew. To him, therefore, did Mr. Williams now make application, for the purchase of Rhode Island for his friends; and at length prevailed with him to make a grant of that whole island to Mr. Coddington, Mr. Clark, and their associates. —The sachem's deed, or grant, was signed the 24th day of March, 1637—8, old style.

The Indians seem not to have been induced to part with this island, so much in consideration of any price that was paid them for it, as out of the great love and regard they bore to Mr. Williams, as appears from the account he has left of this transaction, in his own hand writing.—“It was not price or money that could have purchased Rhode Island, but 'twas obtained by love, that

love and favour which that honoured gentleman Sir Henry Vane, and myself, had with the great sachem Myantonomo, about the league which I procured, between the Massachusetts's English and the Narragansets, in the Pequot war."—"For the Indians were very shy and jealous of selling the lands to any, and chose rather to make a grant (or gift) of them to such as they affected."

Having thus fairly acquired a just title to the finest island that is on the whole sea coasts of the northern British colonies, as well for its form and situation, as its fertile soil, and beautiful bays, capacious, safe harbours, temperate climate, and healthful air, they immediately began a settlement at the north-eastern part of the island, opposite to Mount Hope, and near a cove with a narrow entrance, which they esteemed to be a good harbour, and from which, it is probable, they named the place Portsmouth.—Here they incorporated themselves into a kind of body politick, and chose Mr. Coddington to be their judge and chief magistrate. This was the beginning of the second town in the colony of Rhode Island; and in the same year, considerable numbers from several towns in the Massachusetts, came and joined with them; and so much were they increased, within the course of this whole year, that in the fore part of the next, they separated; and a part of them removed toward the south-western end of the island, where the bay forms as it were a crescent into the land, and a small island stretching its length, between the two head lands, leaves at each end a convenient entrance into a safe and beautiful harbour. On the shores of this harbour they now began a new settlement; and as they had named that at the other end of the island Portsmouth, from the narrow entrance of the harbour; so having found here another fine harbour, or port, they, for that reason, named this place New-Port. This town, thus began in the year 1639, was the third, in order of time, planted in the colony; but the exceeding fertility of its lands, its fine situation, the conveniency of its harbour, and affluent circumstances of its first inhabitants, all contributed to make it increase faster than any of the others, and to become, in a few years, the most conside-

nable town in, and the metropolis of the colony.—Justice requires that I should here, once for the whole, acknowledge, that I have borrowed a great part of this account of the first settlement of Rhode Island, and some few other articles, made use of in the course of these papers, from the century sermon of the late ingenious and worthy Mr. John Callender.

Four years after the first coming to Providence, a settlement was began at a place about five miles southward from it, called by the Indians Pawtuxet, where a fine fresh river, known by the same name, falls into the Narraganset Bay, and within the purchase Mr. Williams had made of the Indians. This settlement was made by William Arnold, William Carpenter, Zechariah Rhodes, and William Harris, who all removed from Providence thither, and seem to be induced to make this remove for the sake of the fine natural meadows that were on both sides of the aforesaid river.—And here still remains a numerous posterity from each of these four first planters.

The next plantation, began within this colony, was at a place by the Indians called Shaw-o-met, now known by the name of Warwick. Here a purchase was made of a tract of land, bounding northerly on Providence purchase, and to extend about four miles and an half south, and twenty miles west. This purchase was made in the beginning of the year 1643, of Myantonomo, by Randal Holdon, John Wickes, Samuel Gorton, John Greene, Francis Weston, Richard Waterman, John Warner, Richard Carder, Sampson Shotton, Robert Potter, and William Woodale. The settlement at this place, was began, as I have good reason to believe, a year or two earlier than this purchase of Myantonomo; these lands being first purchased of Pomham, a petty sachem, who with his tribe, were the possessors of it, and this purchase afterward assented to, and confirmed by Myantonomo, the principal sachem. Be this as it will, this was the beginning of the fourth town in the colony, planted by people half from Providence, one from Rhode Island, and the rest, perhaps, new comers.

The first form of government established by Mr. Williams, and the people at Providence, seems to have been no more than a voluntary association, and compact, that each individual should submit to, and be governed by the resolutions and determinations of the whole body: All publick matters were transacted in their town meetings, and all private disputes and controversies were also heard, adjudged and finished there. They annually chose two officers, which were called town deputies, these had authority to keep the peace, to settle small disputes, to call town meetings, preside in them, and see their resolutions executed. And all new comers, before they were admitted as inhabitants, were obliged to make a solemn promise, in the nature of an oath, in an open town meeting, that "they would submit themselves, in active and passive obedience, to all such orders and agreements, as shall be made for the publick good of the body, in an orderly way, by the major consent of the inhabitants." And by the form of engagement given by officers, in the year 1647, after the colony had obtained a charter, and established a body of laws, there is a plain allusion to this primitive government: The form runs thus; "You A. B. being called, and chosen by the free vote and consent of the inhabitants of this plantation, now orderly met, unto the office of do, in this present assembly, engage yourself faithfully, and truly to execute, all that is required from your office, in the body of laws agreed upon by the whole colony, so far forth as the nature and constitution of this plantation will admit. Also you are faithfully and truly to execute, all that is required from your office in our town book, concerning our town affairs, and to do neither more, nor less, in these respects, than this town have, or shall authorize you to do, according to the best of your understanding."

The government, established by Mr. Coddington, and the people at Rhode Island, appears to be nearly like that at Providence; for though they chose one chief magistrate, which they called by the name of governour, and four others, called assistants; yet these seem like the deputies at Providence, to be vested only with some exe-

cutive powers, while the principal authorities, both legislative and judicial, rested in the body of the people, when met together in town meeting. And indeed, the authority of these town meetings, at this time, and long afterwards, was very great, and might be compared to the power of the common people of Athens or Rome; for about the year 1653, an inhabitant of Newport, of very considerable note, was charged with a capital crime, and was brought before the town meeting, there tried, and condemned to death, and the sentence immediately executed in their presence.

It being the resolution of those who came to Rhode Island, not to settle within the jurisdiction of any of the colonies that were already settled; and they now considered themselves, and were considered by others, as a separate, and independent government, and continued so for several years. What chiefly moved them to the aforesaid resolution, of living in a separate manner, was their desire and intention to enjoy and to maintain an absolute liberty of conscience, and entire freedom in all religious matters. But after having lived some years in the neighbourhood of the Providence planters, and gained a certain knowledge of their principles and practices, they found that they had already established, and constantly and steadily maintained all the liberty and freedom they had been so desirous of, and had removed a second time to find. This union of sentiments, and of intentions, of the most noble and generous kind, soon produced a coalition of the people of Providence, and of those at Rhode Island, and an agreement, that they would unite and become one colony, and apply together to the crown for a charter of incorporation. In consequence of this agreement, they jointly appointed Mr. Williams their agent, to go to England, and there solicit and conduct their affairs for them. Some time in the year 1642, Mr. Williams sailed for England; and when he arrived there, found his native country involved in all the miseries of a furious civil war; carried on by the king on one side, and his Parliament on the other: But as the Parliament were masters of the English fleet, that, they supposed, gave them also the power

of all the plantations abroad; therefore they had appointed Robert Earl of Warwick, president, and had joined a number of commissioners with him, and had given them power to take care of and transact all the plantation affairs. To these commissioners, therefore, did Mr. Williams now apply for a charter; and as Sir Henry Vane, with whom he was well acquainted, and seems to have had a close friendship, was one of them, through his assistance, as Mr. Williams afterwards declared, he obtained his suit, and received a charter of incorporation; which though its length must make tedious, yet as it is but little known, and is the first, and perhaps only one of its kind, I will give it to my readers at full length, viz.

“WHEREAS by an ordinance of the Lords and Commons, now assembled in Parliament, bearing date the second day of November, Anno Domini 1643, Robert Earl of Warwick is constituted, and ordained governour in chief, and lord high admiral of all those islands and other plantations inhabited or planted by, or belonging to any his majesty the King of England's subjects, (or which hereafter may be inhabited and planted by, or belong to them) within the bounds, and upon the coasts of America. And whereas the said lords have thought fit, and thereby ordained, that Philip Earl of Pembroke, Edward Earl of Manchester, William Viscount Say and Seal, Philip Lord Wharton, John Lord Rolle, members of the House of Peers. Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Baronet, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Baronet, Sir Henry Vane, jun. Knight, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Knight, John Pim, Oliver Cromwell, Dennis Bond, Miles Corbet, Cornelius Holland, Samuel Vassal, John Rolle, and William Spurstow, Esqrs. members of the House of Commons, should be commissioners to join in aid and assistance with the said earl. And whereas, for the better government and defence, it is thereby ordained, that the aforesaid governour and commissioners, or the greater number of them, shall have power, and authority, from time to time, to nominate, appoint, and

constitute all such subordinate governours, counsellors, commanders, officers, and agents, as they shall judge to be best affected, and most fit and serviceable for the said islands and plantations; and to provide for, order and dispose all things, which they shall, from time to time, find most advantageous for the said plantations; and for the better security of the owners and inhabitants thereof, to assign, ratify, and confirm, so much of their afore-mentioned authority and power, and in such manner, and to such persons as they shall judge to be fit for the better governing and preserving of the said plantations and islands, from open violences and private disturbances and distractions. And whereas there is a tract of land in the continent of America aforesaid, called by the name of the Narraganset Bay; bordering northward and north-east on the patent of the Massachusetts, east and south-east on Plymouth patent, south on the ocean, and on the west and north-west by the Indians called Nahigganneucks, alias Narragansets; the whole tract extending about twenty-five English miles, unto the Pequot River and country.

“And whereas divers well affected and industrious English inhabitants, of the towns of Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport, in the tract aforesaid, have adventured to make a nearer neighbourhood and society with the great body of the Narragansets, which may in time, by the blessing of God upon their endeavours, lay a sure foundation of happiness to all America. And have also purchased, and are purchasing of and amongst the said natives, some other places, which may be convenient both for plantations, and also for building of ships, supply of pipe staves, and other merchandise. And whereas the said English have represented their desire to the said earl, and commissioners, to have their hopeful beginnings approved and confirmed, by granting unto them a free charter of civil incorporation, and government; that they may order and govern their plantation in such a manner, as to maintain justice and peace, both among themselves, and towards all men with whom they shall have to do.

In due consideration of the said premises, the said Robert Earl of Warwick, governour in chief, and lord high admiral of the said plantations, and the greater number of the said commissioners, whose names and seals are here under-written and subjoined, out of a desire to encourage the good beginnings of the said planters, do, by the authority of the aforesaid ordinance of the lords and commons, give, grant, and confirm, to the aforesaid inhabitants of the towns of Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport, a free and absolute charter of incorporation, to be known by the name of *The Incorporation of Providence Plantations, in the Narraganset Bay, in New England*.—Together with full power and authority, to rule themselves, and such others as shall hereafter inhabit within any part of the said tract of land, by such a form of civil government, as by voluntary consent of all, or the greater part of them, they shall find most suitable to their estate and condition; and, for that end, to make and ordain such civil laws and constitutions, and to inflict such punishments upon transgressors, and for execution thereof, so to place, and displace officers of justice, as they, or the greatest part of them, shall by free consent agree unto. *Provided nevertheless*, that the said laws, constitutions, and punishments, for the civil government of the said plantations, be conformable to the laws of England, so far as the nature and constitution of the place will admit. And always reserving to the said earl, and commissioners, and their successors, power and authority for to dispose of the general government of that, as it stands in relation to the rest of the plantations in America, as they shall conceive from time to time, most conducing to the general good of the said plantations, the honour of his majesty, and the service of the state. And the said earl and commissioners do further authorize, that the aforesaid inhabitants, for the better transacting of their publick affairs, to make and use a publick seal, as the known seal of Providence Plantations, in the Narraganset Bay, in New England. In testimony whereof, the said Robert Earl of Warwick, and commissioners, have hereunto set their hands and seals, the fourteenth day of March, in the nineteenth

year of the reign of our sovereign lord King Charles, and in the year of our Lord God, 1643.

ROBERT WARWICK,
PHILIP PEMBROKE,
SAY AND SEAL,
P. WHARTON,
ARTHUR HASLERIG,
COR. HOLLAND,
H. VANE,
SAM. VASSAL,
JOHN ROLLE,
MILES CORBET,
W. SPURSTOW."

Mr. Williams having obtained this charter, how long it was before he returned is uncertain ; and as there is no particular form of government established by it, nor no officers, or offices, named or appointed, but the whole frame of government left to be modelled and established by the people here, it doubtless took much time before they could agree upon and settle a method that was pleasing to the major part of the people in all the four towns. For although Warwick be not named in the charter, yet, before the government was formed under it, that was become a town, and was named Warwick, in honor of the above-named Robert Earl of Warwick, and had all along, under that charter, an equal privilege, in all respects, with either of the three towns that were named in it. The form of government, at length agreed upon, was this. The freemen of the whole colony chose annually one chief officer, which they called president, and eight assistants, two in each town ; and each of the four towns chose six representatives, at that time called commissioners: These had power, when regularly met together, to make such laws as they thought necessary ; but these laws, thus made, were to be sent to each town meeting, and there publickly read, and after due time was had for deliberation, the question was put, whether what had been then read should be received as a law or not.—If this question passed in

the negative, in the major part of the towns, the law in question was made void ; if in the affirmative it was established. From this practice, came the common story, that some towns had heretofore repealed acts of the General Assembly. By this it appears that the people did not trust the whole legislative authority, even to their own representatives, but kept at least a negative voice in their own hands. The president and assistants had the executive power, were judges of the courts of law, and kept the peace : The president sat as speaker in the assemblies of the representatives, and called them together on emergencies, was chairman in the courts of judicature, and all processes issued in his name. There was also chosen, yearly, a general recorder, and a general serjeant ; the office of the first, was to make regular entries of all the doings of the assembly of representatives, and send copies to each town, and to execute the office of clerk to the courts of judicature. The duty of the latter was the same as that of sheriff at this day. The assistants in each town, besides keeping the peace, and determining small controversies, had the power of presiding in all town meetings, and of calling them on all emergent occasions. Each town also chose every year a town clerk, who entered all that was done in their town meetings, recorded all deeds, and land evidences, and all other publick matters transacted in the town. They also chose six persons called a town council, who had the powers of a court of probate ; of granting licences to innkeepers and retailers ; and of the poor. A serjeant they also chose, whose office was that of a town sheriff.

The form of government being settled, they now prepared such laws as were necessary to enforce the due administration of it ; but the popular approbation their laws must receive, before they were valid, made this a work of time ; however, they were so industrious in it, that in the month of May, 1647, they completed a regular body of laws, taken chiefly from the laws of England, adding a very few of their own forming, which the circumstances and exigencies of their present condition required. These laws, for securing of right, for determining contro-

versies, for preserving order, suppressing vice, and punishing offenders, were, at least, equal to the laws of any of the neighbouring colonies; and infinitely exceeded those of all other Christian countries at that time, in this particular,—that they left the conscience free, and did not punish men for worshipping God in the way, they were persuaded, he required.—Here, although it be a departure from the order of time, I will draw into one view what yet remains to be said upon that liberty of conscience first allowed here. All Christians, from the beginning of the reformation to these times, when they were disturbed, and oppressed by the governing powers they lived under, on account of their religious principles or practices, had claimed this natural right, *a liberty of conscience in the worship of God*.—And many of them had, with much learning, and great strength of reason, shewn, that it was a right they were naturally and justly entitled to; and of which the civil magistrate could not deprive them, without departing from his proper duty and office. But all of them, when they came to be possessed of power, had denied that indulgence to those who differed from them in religious sentiments, that they had pleaded so powerfully for when they suffered themselves: and this had constantly and universally been the case throughout Christendom, for many hundred years.—And Roger Williams justly claims the honour of having been the first legislator, in the world, in its latter ages, that fully and effectually provided for and established a free, full, and absolute liberty of conscience. This beneficent principle he made the foundation, and, as it were, the chief corner stone of his infant colony; this was made the test of admission, to all new comers; this was the chief cause that united the inhabitants of Rhode Island and those of Providence, and made them one people, and one colony. It was often objected to Mr. Williams, that such great liberty in religious matters, tended to licentiousness, and every kind of disorder: To such objections I will give the answer he himself made, in his own words, for thereby his real sentiments may be best discovered.

“To the Town of Providence.

“Loving Friends and Neighbours,

“IT pleaseth God yet to continue this great liberty of our town meetings, for which, we ought to be humbly thankful, and to improve these liberties to the praise of the Giver, and to the peace and welfare of the town and colony, without our own private ends. I thought it my duty, to present you with this my impartial testimony, and answer to a paper sent you the other day from my brother, —*That it is blood-guiltiness, and against the rule of the gospel, to execute judgment upon transgressors, against the private or public weal.* That ever I should speak or write a tittle that tends to such an infinite liberty of conscience, is a mistake ; and which I have ever disclaimed and abhorred. To prevent such mistakes, I at present shall only propose this case.—There goes many a ship to sea, with many a hundred souls in one ship, whose weal and wo is common ; and is a true picture of a commonwealth, or an human combination, or society. It hath fallen out sometimes, that both Papists and Protestants, Jews and Turks, may be embarked into one ship. Upon which supposal, I do affirm, that all the liberty of conscience that ever I pleaded for, turns upon these two hinges, that none of the Papists, Protestants, Jews, or Turks, be forced to come to the ship’s prayers or worship ; nor, secondly, compelled from their own particular prayers or worship, if they practise any. I further add, that I never denied that, notwithstanding this liberty, the commander of this ship ought to command the ship’s course ; yea, and also to command that justice, peace, and sobriety, be kept and practised, both among the seamen and all the passengers. If any seamen refuse to perform their service, or passengers to pay their freight ;—if any refuse to help in person or purse, towards the common charges, or defence ;—if any refuse to obey the common laws and orders of the ship, concerning their common peace and preservation ;—if any shall mutiny and rise up against their commanders, and officers ;—if any shall preach or

write, that there ought to be no commanders, nor officers, because all are equal in Christ, therefore no masters, nor officers, no laws, nor orders, no corrections nor punishments—I say, I never denied, but in such cases, whatever is pretended, the commander or commanders may judge, resist, compel, and punish such transgressors, according to their deserts and merits. This, if seriously and honestly minded, may, if it so please the Father of lights, let in some light, to such as willingly shut not their eyes. I remain, studious of our common peace and liberty,——

ROGER WILLIAMS.”

This religious liberty was not only asserted in words, but uniformly adhered to and practised ; for in the year 1656, soon after the Quakers made their first appearance in New England, and at which most of these colonies were greatly alarmed and offended : Those at that time called the four united colonies, which were the Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, wrote to this colony, to join with them in taking effectual methods to suppress them, and prevent their pernicious doctrines being spread and propagated in the country.—To this request the Assembly of this colony gave the following worthy answer: “ We shall strictly adhere to the foundation principle on which this colony was first settled ; to wit, that every man who submits peaceably to the civil authority, may peaceably worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, without molestation.” And not to the people of the neighbouring governments only, was this principle owned ; but it was asserted in their applications to the ruling powers in the mother country ; for in the year 1659, in an address of this colony to Richard Cromwell, then lord protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, there is this paragraph,—“ May it please your highness to know, that this poor colony of Providence Plantations, mostly consists of a birth and breeding of the providence of the Most High.—We being an out-cast people, formerly from our mother nation, in the bish-

ops' days ; and since from the rest of the New English over-zealous colonies : Our frame being much like the present frame and constitution of our dearest mother England ; bearing with the several judgments, and consciences, each of other, in all the towns of our colony.—The which our neighbour colonies do not ; which is the only cause of their great offence against us."

But as every human felicity has some attendant misfortune, so the people's enjoyment of very great liberty, hath ever been found to produce some disorders, factions, and parties amongst them ; and for this evil there is no remedy : But the mischiefs that would flow from it must be averted by the personal virtue and steady perseverance of the wise and good among them ; and no longer than a sufficient number of such can be found, to guide and to withstand the headlong passions of the giddy multitude, can liberty be supported. The mischiefs of parties, and of factions, the natural consequence of great liberty, made an early appearance in this colony : But there were then found also, patriots enough in it to prevent their malevolent effects. (May the writer of these papers be permitted here to call upon the patriots of the present age, to arise, and imitate their great ancestors, and exert themselves in saving their unhappy country from parties, from factions, and from ruin.)—And as the best and most useful men, have ever, in all free states, been the subject of popular clamour and censure, so we find that Mr. Williams did not escape the rude attacks of the licentious tongue of freedom : However, in imitation of a noble Greek, he thanks God, that he had been the author of that very liberty, by which they dare to abuse him ; and expostulates with the people in these words,—“ I am told that I am a traitor—and as good as banished by yourselves ;—that both sides wished I might have never landed here again, that so, the fire of contention might have had no stop in burning.—I, at last, was forced to say, they might well silence all complaints, if I once began to complain, who was importunately drawn from my employment, and sent so vast a distance from my family, to do your work of a costly and high nature, for so long a

time; and there left to starve, or steal, or beg, or borrow. But blessed be God, who gave me favour to borrow one while, and to work another, and thereby to pay your debts, and to come over, with your credit and honour, as your agent: Yet I may say, you seem to have provided a sponge to wipe off all your scores and debts. But gentlemen, blessed be God who faileth not, and blessed be his name for his wonderful providence, by which alone this town and colony, and the grand cause of truth and freedom of conscience, hath been upheld to this day; and blessed be his name, who hath again quenched so much of the fire of contention among brethren."

It must be confessed, the historians and ministers of the neighbouring colonies, in all their writings for a long time, represented the inhabitants of this colony as a company of people who lived without any order, and quite regardless of all religion; and this, principally, because they allowed an unlimited liberty of conscience, which was then interpreted to be profane licentiousness, as though religion could not subsist without the support of human laws, and Christians must cease to be so, if they suffered any of different sentiments to live in the same country with them. Nor is it to be wondered at, if many among them that first came hither, being tinctured with the same bitter spirit, should create much disturbance; nor that others, when got clear of the fear of censure and punishment, should relax too much, and behave as though they were become indifferent about religion itself. With people of both these characters, the fathers of this colony had to contend: On one hand, to guard and to maintain that sacred liberty and freedom they had established; and on the other, to prevent and suppress that licentiousness too naturally flowing from it. For quieting and healing the breaches and animosities occasioned by these contrary extremes, and arising from other causes also, Sir Henry Vane sent a letter to the colony, dated the 8th of February, 1653, in which he complains of their disorders, exhorts them to peace and unanimity, and severely rebukes them for the ill use they make of their great liberty: To this letter the town of Provi-

dence returned an answer in Mr. Williams's writing, as followeth : " The first beginning of this Providence colony was occasioned by the banishment of some from the Massachusetts—We were in complete order until we were greatly disturbed and distracted by the ambition and covetousness of some, who wanting that public self-denying spirit, which you commend to us in your letter, occasioned our general disturbance and distraction.—Possibly some of ourselves are grown wanton and too active ; for we have long drank of the sweet cup of as great liberties as any people that we can hear of under the whole heaven—We have not only been free from the iron yokes of wolfish bishops, but have sitten quiet, and dry from the streams of blood, spilt by the civil war in our native country. We have not felt the new chains of the Presbyterian tyrants, nor been consumed by the overzealous fire of those called godly Christian magistrates. We have almost forgot what tythes are ; yea, and taxes too ; either to church or commonwealth. We have also enjoyed other sweet privileges, and such, you know, are very powerful to render the best of men wanton and forgetful.—We hope you shall have no more occasion to complain of the men of Providence town, or Providence colony ; but that when we are gone and rotten, our posterity, and children after us, shall read in our town records, your pious and favourable letters and loving-kindness to us, and this our answer, and real endeavours after peace and righteousness."

And in this age it seemed to be doubted whether a civil government could be kept up and supported without some particular mode of religion was established by its laws, and guarded by penalties and tests : And for determining this doubt, by an actual trial, appears to have been the principal motive with King Charles the Second, for granting free liberty of conscience to the people of this colony, by his charter of 1663,—in which he makes use of these words : " That they might hold forth a lively experiment, that a most flourishing civil state may stand, and best be maintained, and that amongst our English subjects, with a full liberty in religious concern.

ments. And that true piety, rightly grounded on gospel principles, will give the best and greatest security to sovereignty, and will lay in the hearts of men the strongest obligations to true loyalty." This great experiment hath been made, and hath fully answered the expectations of the beneficent royal mind that proposed it; and it hath fully appeared, that a flourishing civil state, and the most unstained loyalty, may stand without the help of any religious party tests to support them; and that the Christian religion is as little indebted to human laws for its support, as it is to human inventions, for the purity of its morals, and the sublimity of its doctrines. And Christian societies in this colony have not, as Mr. Neal expresses it, "crumbled to pieces," but have kept together, and behaved as well as those who have lived under the severest penal laws; and those of all the various denominations amongst Protestants, have lived here in peace and love, and have ever shewn more kindness and charity one for another, than hath commonly been found amongst brethren of the same communion in the neighbouring governments. And as equal liberty and protection hath been all along allowed to every society, this hath prevented any emulation amongst them for superiority and power; but hath excited one of a much more laudable nature, that is, which should adorn their profession most, by practising every Christian virtue and duty. But long experience hath at last convinced all men, that religious liberty is not incompatible with civil government, and the peace and welfare of mankind; and therefore that perfect liberty of conscience, first began by Roger Williams, and first practised in his little town of Providence, hath spread itself, and is at this day established, in some degree, in every part of the British dominions.

To return to the order of time from which I have digressed.—The first church formed at Providence, by Mr. Williams and others, seems to have been on the model of the Congregational churches in the other New England colonies. But it did not continue long in this form; for most of its members very soon embraced the principles and practices of the Baptists; and some time earlier than

1639, gathered and formed a church at Providence, of that society, the principal members of which were William Wickenden, the first elder, Chadd Brown, Thomas Olney, Gregory Dexter, John Throckmorton, Ezekiel Holliman, Stukely Wescot, &c. That this church was begun as early as I have placed it, is evident, from a letter of the famous Hugh Peters, minister of Salem, to the church at Dorchester, dated the first of the fifth month, 1639, in which he writes,

“Reverend and dearly beloved in the Lord—

“WE thought it our bounden duty to acquaint you with the names of such persons as have had the great censure passed upon them, in this our church, with the reasons thereof. Roger Williams, and his wife, John Throckmorton, and his wife, Thomas Olney, and his wife, Stukely Wescot, and his wife, Mary Holliman, widow Reeves;—These wholly refused to hear the church, denying it, and all the churches in the bay, to be true churches, and, except two, *are all re-baptized.*—

Yours in the Lord Jeses,

HUGH PETERS.”*

There seems to have been but one society or meeting of the Baptists, formed in the English nation, before this at Providence, and that was in London, under the pastoral care of Mr. John Spilsbury, on the 12th of September, 1633. The second in England was, in 1639, gathered by Mr. Greene, and others. This first church of Baptists, at Providence, hath from its beginning kept itself in repute, and maintained its discipline, so as to avoid scandal, or schism, to this day; hath always been, and still is a numerous congregation, and in which I have with pleasure observed, very lately, sundry descendants from each of the above-named founders, except Holliman.

The records concerning lands first begin to appear about the year 1643, in the Providence books.—Whether their first books of records were lost in the Indian war,

* The original letter being now before us, we remark its signature is Hu. Peter, not *Peters*. Ed.

or none were made, before this time, I have been able to gain no information. From this time forward, returns of surveys, and deeds of land are constantly found entered on the records. The deeds of that age differ so widely from the formal tautology of our present deeds, that one of them, as a specimen of the simplicity of our ancestors, may not be disagreeable to the reader.

“THE 27th of the 11th month, 1644, William Field sold unto William Wickenden, all the share of land called six acres, lying upon the hill, called Foxe's Hill; bounding on the east and south-east with the land of Francis Wickes, and on the north and north-east with the highway, on the west and north-west with Mile-end Cove, on the south with the sea.”

All the deeds of land in Providence, down to the year 1660, will be found nearly in the same form; but these deeds were made, or, at least, solemnly acknowledged by the grantor, in an open town meeting; and if the town approved of the sale, they, by a vote, ordered the deed to be immediately recorded; and this made the conveyance valid; but if the town disapproved of the bargain, the whole was void.—Whether any later invented method of conveying lands hath been better adapted to prevent overreaching and fraud, is left to every honest man to determine. Indeed, in these days, they took so much care one of another, that a man was not permitted to sell his own lands without leave of the town; for in 1652, I find, one Richard Pray petitioned the town that he might be permitted to sell some land of his own; and his request was granted.

The first settlement in the Narraganset country was began in the year 1643, by Mr. Richard Smith, who set up a trading house in what is now called North Kingstown, at the place where the mansion house of the Updike family now stands: And Mr. Williams, and one Mr. Wilcox, soon after, set up another in the same part of the country; and some few plantations thereabouts were purchased of the Indians, and settled about the same time, or not long after.

The same year affords an instance of a very arbitrary exertion of power, by the Massachusetts colony, against the inhabitants of the town of Warwick, in this colony. Mr. Samuel Gorton, born in London, of a good family, was a man of good learning, though not bred at any university, came from England to Boston, in the year 1636; but his religious opinions not agreeing with the standard established there, he removed first to Plymouth, then to Rhode Island, afterwards to Providence, and at last, he, and his partners, before named, sat down at Warwick, and purchased the lands there. The Massachusetts government did not think fit to let them rest in quiet.—To give their proceedings some colour, they induced Pomham, the petty sachem, who dwelt on the lands about Warwick, to come to Boston, and to put himself and his lands under their protection, although they knew very well he had before sold all his right to those lands, to the Warwick purchasers, and that the lands lay more than twenty miles without their jurisdiction.—Pomham's submission was made the 22d of the 4th month, 1643. Upon this Myantonomo, the great sachem of the Narragansets, who was principal in selling the Warwick lands, was sent for to Boston, to shew what right he had to his kingdom, before the General Court of the Massachusetts:—He appeared, acknowledged his sale to the Warwick people, and averred his right to make it. The General Court were pleased to say, he had not made out his right to the Indian country, to their satisfaction. Having taken these previous steps, on the 12th of September, a summons was sent to the Warwick men, to appear before the General Court at Boston, to answer the complaint of Pomham and other Indians. To this the Warwick men answered, that they were not within the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts colony, and therefore refused to obey the summons.—This answer was called a high contempt.—Thereupon, on the 19th of the same month, forty armed men were sent under Captain George Cook, who, after a short siege, took Mr. Gorton, and eleven other principal inhabitants of the town of Warwick, and all their cattle, being eighty head, and such house-

hold goods as they could transport (destroying all the remainder) and carried them away to Boston, leaving their stripped and miserable families to the mercy of the more humane savages. Mr. Gorton and his fellows were confined in prison until the General Court sat at Boston, before whom they were brought for trial. But as they were now in safe custody, nothing is heard further of the complaint of Pomham, and the Indians:—Quite other matters are now laid to their charge, and after various altercations, the accusation against them was formed in these words,—“Upon much examination, and serious consideration of your writings, with your answers about them, we do charge you to be a blasphemous enemy of the true religion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and his holy ordinances; and also of civil authority amongst the people of God, and particularly in this jurisdiction.” Upon this ridiculous and general charge, in which there is not a single fact alleged, to which any answer could possibly be given, these twelve persons were tried for their lives.—Gorton’s writings were produced as evidence against them.—These he explained in such a manner, that Governour Winthrop, in open court, declared he could agree with them: But all were not to be satisfied so easily; and when the hearing of the cause was concluded, whether they should suffer death, or not, was the question put, and passed in the negative by a majority of two voices only. Although Mr. Gorton and his companions escaped with their lives, they did not escape a severe and very cruel sentence; they were doomed, each to a different town in the neighbourhood of Boston, (Gorton’s lot was Charlestown) there to remain during the pleasure of the court; each was to wear a great iron chain bolted fast to his leg, and in this condition to get his living by his labour, or starve; for the people were strictly forbid to give them any kind of relief: They were not to speak to any person, on any account whatever, except an officer in either church or state, on pain of death; and were not to say any thing to them about religion, or to complain of hard usage from the government, on pain of the same penalty. In this condition they were kept one whole cold

winter, and then the court banished them out of their jurisdiction, not to return into it again, on pain of death.—That is, they were permitted to go home to Warwick, from whence they had been brought by violence, but none of their cattle, or other goods, were ever restored to them.

Soon after the Warwick men were at liberty, they procured the Narraganset sachems to make a solemn submission of themselves, their people, and country, to King Charles the First, begging his protection.—The instrument of submission bears date the 19th August, 1644.—For it seems these sachems, as well as the Warwick people, thought it necessary to apply to the British crown, for protection against the arbitrary proceedings of the Massachusetts government: But it was unhappy for Myntonomo, that the king of England was, at this time, unable to afford him any protection, and that their unhappy fates too much resembled one another. The submission of the Indians, together with a complaint against the Massachusetts government, was carried to England by Mr. Gorton, Mr. John Greene, afterwards deputy governor of this colony, and one of its most considerable men, and Mr. Randal Holden. They obtained an order from the Earl of Warwick, and the other commissioners for plantation affairs, directed to the Massachusetts colony, expostulating with them for want of charity, and for severity, and requiring them to give the Warwick people no further molestation, on account of their religion, or of their lands, and to permit them to pass peaceably through their government. This order was obeyed with great reluctance by the Massachusetts authority, who also hereupon sent an agent to England, to make answer to the complaints of Gorton and his friends; and this agent chiefly insisted, not that what they had acted was right, but that the doings of the Massachusetts colony were not subject to any re-examination in England.

About this time a war broke out between the Narraganset Indians, and a nation or tribe of Indians called Mohegins, who lived near the sea coast, on the lands between Connecticut River and Quinnibaug River. In an engage-

ment between them, it happened that Myantonomo, the young king of the Narragansets, was taken prisoner by Uncas, king of the Mohegins. The savage soul of Uncas doubted whether he ought to take away the life of a great king, who had fallen into his hands by misfortune; and to resolve this doubt, he applied to the Christian commissioners of the four united colonies, who met at Hartford, in September, 1644: They were less scrupulous, and ordered Uncas to carry Myantonomo out of their jurisdiction, and slay him; but kindly added, that he should not be tortured; they sent some persons to see execution done, who had the satisfaction to see the captive king murdered in cold blood. This was the end of Myantonomo, the most potent Indian prince the people of New England had ever any concern with; and this was the reward he received for assisting them seven years before, in their war with the Pequots. Surely a Rhode Island man may be permitted to mourn his unhappy fate, and drop a tear on the ashes of Myantonomo, who, with his uncle Conanicus, were the best friends and greatest benefactors the colony ever had: They kindly received, fed, and protected the first settlers of it, when they were in distress, and were strangers and exiles, and all mankind else were their enemies; and by this kindness to them, drew upon themselves the resentment of the neighbouring colonies, and hastened the untimely end of the young king.

The Narragansets were greatly and justly enraged at the death of their sachem, more especially as they affirmed they had paid Uncas a ransom for him before he was slain, and therefore now resolved to take vengeance of the Mohegins. This the united colonies were determined to prevent; and first sent messengers, to exhort them to make peace with the Mohegins, and offered to become mediators between them:—The Narragansets rejected this offer, and resolutely answered, they would continue the war till they had Uncas's head. Upon this the united colonies raised an army of three hundred men, part of which having marched, and being ready to enter their country, the Narragansets not thinking themselves able

to support a war against both the English and Mohegins together, were forced to submit to the hard terms imposed on them by the commissioners; and which were,—That they should make peace with Uncas, and restore all they had taken from him;—that they should not hereafter make war with any people, without leave first obtained;—that they should pay to the united colonies two thousand fathom of wampum-peag, for the expenses they had been at; and give hostages for the performance of these articles. These terms were submitted to by the Narraganset Indians on the 30th of August, 1645. How far the united colonies were justifiable in the whole of this their conduct, toward a free and independant prince and people, who lived quite without the jurisdiction of any of their governments, and who had never been enemies, but always friends and allies to them, must be left to civilians to determine. Be that as it will, it is certain, these things greatly alienated the minds of the Indians from the English, and filled them with prejudices that could never afterwards be removed. And this will, in some measure, account for their obstinate refusal to receive or hear any of the ministers and missionaries that came from these colonies, as we are told by historians they constantly did; for these Indians seem to have thought no good could possibly be intended for them, by the people from whom, as they imagined, they had received so great injuries. That this was the cause, and not any aversion to the Christian religion, as has been commonly represented, is evident from their willingness to hear Mr. Williams, who, for many years, went to Narraganset, once a month, to preach Christianity to them.

[The publisher added, at the close, *to be continued*, but the author was probably interrupted by the distractions of the times, and we are left to regret, that the History has never been written, or at least never printed, Ed.]

NUMBER OF DWELLING HOUSES, STORES AND PUBLICK BUILDINGS, IN BOSTON, TAKEN FROM ACTUAL ENUMERATION, JULY, 1789.

Note, the buildings are enumerated in the several squares, which are designated by expressing the streets which form them.

Squares.	Houses.	Stores.	Publick Buildings, &c.
THE Neck.	10	4	Mint. 1
Fortification. Orange Street. Castle Street. Harbour.	14	9	
Fortification. Orange Street. Castle Street. Cambridge Bay.	19	7	
Castle Street. Orange Street. Pleasant Street. Cambridge Bay.	14	2	Writing School } House. } . . . 1
Castle Street. Orange Street. Bennet Street. Harbour.	20	9	
Bennet Street. Orange Street. Harvard Street. Harbour.	7	3	
Pleasant Street. Orange Street. * { Clough Street. { Holyoke Street. Eliot Street.	23	3	
Carried over,	107	37	 2

* Nassau Street.

Squares.	Houses.	Stores.	Publick Buildings, &c.
Brought over,	107	37	 2
Orange Street. Clough Street. Holyoke Street. Hollis Street.	12		South End } Meeting } House. } . 1
Hollis Street. Orange Street. Eliot Street. Holyoke Street. A court.	17		
Eliot Street. Orange Street. *Frog Lane. Holyoke Street.	18	2	Duck Manu- } factory. }
Eliot Street. Holyoke Street. Frog Lane. Pleasant Street.	16		
Harvard Street. Orange Street. Beach Street. Harbour.	8	4	
Beach Street. Orange Street. Essex Street. Rainsford Lane.	13	1	
Rainsford Lane. Essex Street. South Street. Harbour.	27		Glass } House. }
South Street. Harbour to Wheel- er's Point. Sea Street. Summer Street.	38		
Carried over,	256	44	 3

* Boylston Street.

Squares.	Houses.	Stores.	Publick Buildings, &c.
Brought over,	256	44	 3
From Wheeler's Point to Bull's Wharf, thro' Sea Street. Harbour.	4	2	
South Street. Summer Street. Blind Lane. Short Street. Essex Street.	19		
Short Street. Essex Street. Newbury Street. A court. Pond Street.	44		
Newbury Street. Gibbon's Court. Another court. Frog Lane. Common Street. Sheaf's Lane.	33		
Sheaf's Lane. Newbury Street. West Street. Common Street.	23		Writing School } . . . 1 House. }
Common Street. Frog Lane. Cambridge Bay. Beacon Street. *Sentry Street.			A Burying Ground. The Common.
Common Street. West Street. Newbury Street. A court. Winter Street.	29		
Carried over,	408	46	 4

* Park Street.

Squares.	Houses.	Stores.	Publick Buildings, &c.
Brought over,	408	46	 4
Newbury Street.			
A court.			
Pond Street.	33		New South } 1
*Blind Lane.			Meeting } House.
Summer Street.			
Winter Street.			
Common Street.	25	1	Bank.
Bromfield's Lane.			
Marlboro' Street.			
Marlboro' Street.			
Summer Street.	16	2	Trinity } 1
†Bishop's Alley.			Church }
‡Vincent's Lane.			
Vincent's Lane.			
Marlboro' Street.	20	2	
Milk Street.			
Bishop's Alley.			
Bishop's Alley.			
Milk Street.			
A court.	35		
Federal Street.			
Cow Lane.			
Summer Street.			
Summer Street.			
Cow Lane.	7		
Crooked Alley.			
Purchase Street.			
Purchase Street.			
Summer Street.	7	1	
Flounder Lane to Tilestone's Wharf.			
From Tilestone's Wharf to Bull's, thro' Flounder L. Harbour.	2	3	
Carried over,	553	55	 6

* East part of Pond St. † Hawley St. ‡ Franklin St. || High St.

Squares.	Houses.	Stores.	Publick Buildings, &c.
Brought over,	553	55	 6
From Tilestone's Wharf to Foster's, thro' Purchase St. and Belcher's L. Harbour.	19	20	
Purchase Street. Crooked Alley. Cow Lane. Gray's Lane.	14	2	
Cow Lane. Atkinson Street. Round Lane. Federal Street.	15		
Round Lane. Atkinson Street. Berry Street. Sister Street.	8		
Round Lane. Sister Street. Berry Street. Federal Street.	7		
Berry Street. Federal Street. Milk Street. Atkinson Street.	14		Federal Meeting } . 1 House.
Atkinson Street. Milk Street. *Hutchinson Street. Cow Lane.	11	4	
Cow Lane. Gray's Lane. Purchase Street. Tilley's Lane.	2	1	
Carried over,	643	82	 7

* Pearl Street.

Squares.	Houses.	Stores.	Publick Buildings, &c.
Brought over,	643	82	 7
Cow Lane.	4		
Tilley's Lane.			
Purchase Street.			
Gridley's Lane.			
Cow Lane.	16		
Gridley's Lane.			
Purchase Street.			
Gibbs' Lane.			
Cow Lane.	7		
Hutchinson Street.			
Milk Street.			
Oliver Street, over Fort Hill.			
Cow Lane.	2		
Gibbs' Lane.			
Purchase Street.			
Sconce Street.			
Belcher's Lane.	33	1	
Sconce Street, over Fort Hill, to Oliver Street.			
Milk Street.			
Battery March.			
From Foster's wharf, through Battery March, to Crane's Wharf.	6		
Harbour.			
Milk Street, round to Water Street.	3		
Board Alley.			
Board Alley.	2		
Milk Street.			
Kilby Street.			
Water Street.			
Carried over,	716	83	 7

Squares.	Houses.	Stores.	Publick Buildings, &c.
Brought over,	716	83	 7
Milk Street.	9	1	
Kilby Street.			
Water Street.			
Tanner's Lane.			
Milk Street.	8		
Tanner's Lane.			
Water Street.			
Dalton Street.			
Milk Street.	13		
Dalton Street.			
Water Street.			
*Joliff's Lane.			
Milk Street.	8	2	Old South Meeting House. } . 1
Joliff's Lane.			
Spring Lane.			
Marlboro' Street.			
Spring Lane.	3		
Water Street.			
Cornhill.			
Marlboro' Street.	25	1	Province House, Romish Chapel. } . 2
A court.			
Bromfield's Lane.			
Governor's Alley.			
School Street.	15		South Latin School House. } 1
Bromfield's Lane.			
Governor's Alley.			
School Street.			
Cook's Court.	7		Burying Ground. Granary. Work-house. Bridewell. Alms-house. } 4
Long Acre.			
Common Street.			
Sentry Street.			
Beacon Street.			
School Street.			
Carried over,	804	87	 15

* South part of Devonshire Street.

Squares.	Houses.	Stores.	Publick Buildings, &c.
Brought over,	804	87	 15
School Street.			Burying Ground.
Tremont Street.			Court House. }
A court.	49		Jail. }
Court Street.			Old Brick. }
Cornhill.			Chapel. }
Williams's Court.			
Cornhill.			
Water Street.	22	3	
Devonshire Street.			
State Street.			
State Street.			State House. } . . . 1
Cornhill.			
State Street.			Quaker Meeting House. }
Half Court Square.	23	1	School House. }
Devonshire Street.			
Water Street.			
*Leverett's Lane.			
Leverett's Lane.			
Water Street.	2		School House. } . . . 1
Kilby Street.			
Lendall's Lane.			
State Street.			
Leverett's Lane.	19	4	
Lendall's Lane.			
Kilby Street.			
Doane's Street.	6		
Marshall's A. round to Doane's Street.			
Marshall's A. round to Kilby Street.	4	3	
Doane's St. round to Crane's Wharf.	1	7	
Harbour.			
Carried over,	930	105	 23

* Congress Street.

Squares.	Houses.	Stores.	Publick Buildings, &c.
Brought over,	930	105	 23
State Street. Kilby Street. Doane's Street. Alley into State St.	2	7	
State Street. Alley into State St. Doane's Street. Alley into State St.	1	7	
State Street. Alley into State St. Doane's Street. Head of Long Wharf.		7	
Long Wharf and Minot's T.	1	74	
State Street. Merchant's Row, in- cluding all the wharves, to Town Dock. Harbour.	2	63	
State Street. Merchant's Row. A court. Corn Market. Corn Court. Pierce's Alley.	17	12	
State Street. Pierce's Alley. Corn Market. *Shrimpton's Lane.	13		
State Street. Shrimpton's Lane. Dock Square. Wilson's Lane.	11	1	
Carried over,	977	276	 23

* Exchange Street.

Squares.	Houses.	Stores.	Publick Buildings, &c.
Brought over,	977	276	 23
State Street.	20	3	
Wilson's Lane.			
Cornhill.			
Cornhill.	25	1	
Loring's Alley.			
Brattle Street.			
Dorset Alley.			
Court Street.			
Dorset Alley.	9		
Court Street.			
Hiller's Lane.			
Court Street.	6		Writing School } 1 House.
Tremont Street.			
Court Street.	24		Concert Hall.
Hiller's Lane.			
Brattle Street.			
*Wing's Lane.			
Hanover Street.			
Hanover Street.	28		
Sudbury Street.			
†Cold Lane.			
Wing's Lane.	12	3	Brattle Street } 1 Meeting House.
Dock Square, round			
Brattle Street, to			
Wing's Lane.	3		
Brattle Street.			
Loring's Alley.			
Cornhill.			
Dock Square.		5	Fanueil Hall. 1
Market Square.			
Wing's Lane.	35	1	
A court.			
Union Street.			
Scot's Court.			
Hanover Street.			
Carried over,	1139	289	 26

* Elm Street.

† Portland Street.

Squares.	Houses.	Stores.	Publick Buildings, &c.
Brought over,	1139	289	 26
Hanover Street. Friend's Street. Deacon Street. Cold Lane.	20		
Friend's Street. Deacon Street. Cold Lane. Mill Pond.	1	1	
Friend's Street. Hanover Street. Union Street. Mill Pond.	17		
Union Street. Link Alley. Mill Creek. Mill Pond.	4		
Link Alley. Hanover Street. Mill Creek.	10		
Hanover Street. Union Street. Marshall's Lane.	8		
Marshall's Lane. Creek Lane. Mill Creek.	14		
Creek Lane. Union Street. Marsh Lane.	12		
Marsh Lane. Union Street. Ann Street. Scottow's Alley and Creek Lane.	16	2	
Carried over,	1241	292	 26

Squares.	Houses.	Stores.	Publick Buildings, &c.
Brought over,	1241	292	 26
Creek Lane and Scottow's Alley. Ann Street. Mill Creek.	9	3	
Ann Street, round by Conduit and Market Square. Royall's Alley.	3	3	
Royall's Alley. Market Square. Swingbridge Lane, including Wallis's Store. Ann Street.	4	6	
Ann Street. Swingbridge Lane. Town Dock, round through Dark Arch.	7	3	
Ann Street. Through Dark Arch, round to Mill Creek.	6	5	
Beacon Street. Hancock Street. Cambridge Street. Cambridge Bay.	16	2	Powder Magazine. } . 1
Hancock Street. Beacon Street, over Beacon Hill. Temple Street. Cambridge Street.	24	1	
Carried over,	1310	315	 27

Squares.	Houses.	Stores.	Publick Buildings, &c.
Brought over,	1310	315	 27
Beacon Street.	35		
Tremont Street.			
Southack's Court.			
Stoddard's Lane.			
Cambridge Street.			
Middlecot Street, over Beacon Hill.			
Temple Street.	14		
Cambridge Street.			
Middlecot Street.			
Beacon Hill.			
Southack's Court.	8		
Sudbury Street.			
Cambridge Street.			
Stoddard's Lane.			
*Cambridge Street.	5		
Sudbury Street.			
Alden's Lane.			
Alden's Lane.	18		
Bowdoin Square.			
Chardon's Lane.			
Hawkins' Street.			
Hawkins' Street.	17		
Sudbury Street.			
†Charlotte Street.			
Chardon's Lane.			
Sudbury Street.	8		
Charlotte St. round by Mill Pond, to bottom of Cold L.			
Chardon's Lane to Ivers's.	9		
Mill Pond.			
Pitts' Lane.			
Green Street.			
Carried over,	1424	315	 27

* Cambridge Street, in 1789, extended to Concert Hall. † Still house Square.

Squares.	Houses.	Stores.	Publick Buildings, &c.
Brought over,	1424	315	 27
Green Street.			
Cambridge Street.	12		
Staniford Street.			
Staniford Street.			West Boston Meeting House. } 2 School House.
Cambridge Street.	12		
Lynde Street.			
Green Street.			
Lynde Street.			
Cambridge Street.	16		
Chamber's Street.			
Green Street.			
Chamber's Street.			
Cambridge Street.	3		
Cambridge Bay.			
Allen's Street.			
Allen's St. round by Cambridge Bay to Barton's Point.	18		
Leverett Street.			
Green St. round to Allen's Street.			
Leverett St. round to Waldo's Wharf.	9	1	
Charles River.			
Leverett St. from Waldo's Wharf.			
Green Street.	10	1	
Pitts' Lane.			
Mill Pond.			
Mill Creek.			
Harbour.	21	7	
Cross Street.			
Ann Street.			
Carried over,	1525	324	 29

218 NUMBER OF HOUSES IN BOSTON, 1789.

Squares.	Houses.	Stores.	Publick Buildings, &c.
Brought over,	1525	324	 29
Mill Creek. Ann Street. Centre Street. Middle Street.	12	1	
Mill Creek. Back Street. Cross Street. Mill Pond.	15		
Back Street. Middle Street. Cross Street.	14		
Middle Street. Centre Street. Fish Street. A court. Cross Street.	24		
Middle Street. Cross Street. Fish Street. Gallop's Alley.	35	1	
Middle Street. Cross Street. Back Street. Beer Lane.	34		Writing School } . . 1 House. }
Middle Street. Gallop's Alley. Fish Street. Wood Lane.	23		
Cross Street. Fish Street. Doble's Wharf. Harbour.	33	13	
Carried over,	1715	339	 30

Squares.	Houses.	Stores.	Publick Buildings, &c.
Brought over,	1715	339	 30
Fish Street, Moon Street. North Square. Sun Court.	20		
Middle Street. Wood Lane. Moon Street. Bell Alley.	27		New Brick Meeting House. } 1
Middle Street. Beer Lane. Back Street. Prince Street.	33		
Cross Street. Back Street. Prince Street. Mill Pond and Charles River to the bridge.	49	4	First and Second Baptist Meeting Houses. } . 2
Prince Street. Snow Street. Ferryway.	18	1	
Prince Street. Snow Street. Sheaffe Street. Margaret Lane.	6	1	
Prince Street. Margaret Lane. Sheaffe Street. Salem Street.	10		
Prince Street. Salem Street. Bennet Street. School Alley.	16		
Prince Street. School Alley. Bennet Street. Middle Street.	15		Universalist Meeting House. } 1
Carried over,	1909	345	 34

Squares.	Houses.	Stores.	Publick Buildings, &c.
Brought over,	1909	345	 34
Middle Street.	2		
Bell Alley.			
Garden Court.			
Fleet Street.	7		
Garden Court.			
North Square.			
Moon Street.			
Fleet Street.	28		
Moon Street.			
Sun Court.			
Fish Street.			
Fleet Street.			
Doble's Wharf.	7	2	
Fish Street, round to Doble's Wharf by the Harbour.			
Fish Street, round by head of Hancock's Wharf, to Scarlet's Wharf.	8	2	
Hancock's Wharf.		4	
Fleet Street.	34		
Ship Street.			
Clarke's Street.			
North Street.			
North Street.	10		North Latin and Writing School Houses. } 2
Bennet Street.			
*Eliot Street.			
Love Lane.			
Bennet Street.	4		
Eliot Street.			
Love Lane.			
Salem Street.			
Carried over,	2009	353	 36

* Unity Street.

Squares.	Houses.	Stores.	Publick Buildings, &c.
Brought over,	2009	353	 36
Salem Street. Sheaffe Street. Snow Street. Hull Street.	17		
Salem Street. Hull Street. Snow Street. Charter Street.	14		
Salem Street. Love Lane. Eliot Street. Charter Street.	13		Christ's } Church. } . . 1
Eliot Street. Love Lane. North Street. Robinson's Alley.	15		
Eliot Street. Robinson's Alley. North Street. Charter Street.	11		
North Street. Clarke's Street. Ship Street. White Bread Alley.	3		New } North } Meeting } House. } . . . 1
North Street. White Bread Alley. Ship Street. Salutation Alley.	34		
North Street. Salutation Alley. Ship Street. Battery Alley.	16		
Ship St. from Scar- let's Wharf to North Battery. Harbour.	27	11	
Carried over,	2159	364	 38

Squares.	Houses.	Stores.	Publick Buildings, &c.
Brought over,	2159	364	 38
North Street. Battery Alley. Lynn Street.	21		
North Street. Charter Street. Henchman's Lane. Lynn Street.	18		
Charter Street. Henchman's Lane. Lynn Street. Sliding Alley.	8		
Charter Street. Sliding Alley. Lynn Street. Lime Alley.	17		
Charter Street. Lime Alley. Ferryway.	14		
Lynn St. and Ferry- way, from North Battery to the Bridge. Harbour.	8	2	
Houses, ...	2235	366	 38
Stores, ...	366		
Publick Buildings,	38		

2639 exclusive of Distill houses,
Sugar houses, Rope walks,
Mechanicks' shops, Stables,
Sheds, &c.

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

THE languages of the American Indians, however little value may be attached to them, as the source of what is frequently (though without much discrimination) called useful knowledge, have for some time deeply engaged the attention of the learned in Europe, as exhibiting numerous phenomena, if the term may be applied, the knowledge of which will be found indispensable to a just theory of speech. It is true, indeed, that we have long had our systems of *universal grammar*, or in other words our theories of language, as deduced from the small number of European and Oriental tongues, which have been the subject of investigation with scholars; just as in the physical sciences we have had, for example, our theories of chemistry, founded upon the comparatively small number of phenomena, which had been observed in past ages. But the discovery of numerous facts of the most surprising character in that science, even within our own memory, has compelled the chemists of the present age to re-examine the old, and resort to new theories; and from the great advances made in *Comparative Philology* in the present age, particularly by means of an extensive acquaintance with the *unwritten* dialects of barbarous nations, there is reason to believe that some important modifications are yet to be made in our theories of language.

Among the unwritten languages, those of the continent of America present us with many new and striking facts. If we may adopt the opinions of a learned Society in another part of our country, there appears to be "a wonderful organization, which distinguishes the languages of the Aborigines of this country from all other idioms of the known world;" and they shew us "how little the world has yet advanced in that science which is proudly called Universal Grammar."* We find in

* Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, vol. i. p. xii.

them (according to a learned member of the same Society) “ a *new* manner of compounding words from various roots, so as to strike the mind at once with a whole mass of ideas ; a new manner of expressing the cases of substantives by inflecting the verbs which govern them ; a new number (the *particular plural*) applied to the declension of nouns and conjugations of verbs ; a new concordance in tense of the conjunction with the verb ; we see not only pronouns, as in the Hebrew and some other languages, but adjectives, conjunctions, adverbs, combined with the principal part of speech, and producing an immense variety of verbal forms ; ” it is also one of the most remarkable characteristicks of the American languages, that they are “ entirely deficient of our auxiliary verbs *to have* and *to be* : ” “ There are no words that I know of (says the same distinguished philologist) in any American idioms to express abstractedly the ideas signified by those two verbs.”*

Some of the facts here stated, however extraordinary they may be thought by speculative persons, who have formed their theories upon the study of the European languages alone, will be found to have been noticed in the following Grammar of the venerable *Eliot*, composed at the distance of a century and a half from our own age, and long before any favourite theory or philological enthusiasm can be supposed to have warped the judgment of the writer and led him to distort his facts, in order to make them suit an ingenious hypothesis. The editor cannot refrain from selecting two or three instances, in which this indefatigable man, from an examination of a very limited number of kindred dialects in this part of the continent, has given similar views to those, which are more fully presented by the learned writer just cited ; who has extended his investigations to numerous dialects from the northern to the southern extremity of America.

Of the general power of *compounding* words, for example, *Eliot* (without however describing the particular

* *Ibid.* Report of Mr. Du Ponceau on the Indian Languages, p. xxxviii. xl.

mode) says—"This language doth greatly delight in *compounding of words*, for abbreviation, to speak much in few words, though they be sometimes long; which is chiefly caused by the many syllables which the Grammar Rule requires, and *suppletive* syllables, which are of no signification, and curious care of Euphonie."* On the subject of the *declensions* he observes—"The variation of Nouns is not by *male* and *female*, as in other learned languages, and in European nations they do There be two forms or declensions of Nouns, *animate*, *inanimate*. 1. The *animate* form or declension is, when the thing signified is a living creature; and such Nouns do always make their plural in *og*, as *wosketomp*, *man*, *wosketompaog*; *a* is but for euphonie. 2. The *inanimate* form or declension of Nouns is, when the thing signified is not a living creature; and these make the plural in *ash*; as *hussun*, *a stone*, *hussunash*."† Again—in respect to that extraordinary characteristick of the Indian languages, the want of the *substantive verb*, Eliot says—"We have no compleat *distinct word* for the *Verb Substantive*, as the learned languages and our English Tongue have, but it is under a regular composition, whereby *many words* are made Verb Substantive." Of this mode of forming verbs he then gives the following among other examples: "The first sort of Verb Substantives is made by adding any of these terminations to the word; *yeuoo*, *aco*, *ooo*, with due euphonie; and this is so, be the word a noun, as

* Indian Gram. p. 6.

† *Ibid.* p. 8, 9, 10. The Rev. Mr. Heckewelder, in his interesting Correspondence with Mr. Du Ponceau, gives the same account of the *Delaware* language of the present day: "In the Indian languages (says he) those discriminating words or inflections which we call *genders*, are not, as with us, in general intended to distinguish between *male* and *female* beings, but between *animate* and *inanimate* things or substances." He adds that "*trees* and *plants* (annual plants and grasses excepted) are included within the generic class of *animated* beings." On this latter point, however, Eliot says, that *all* Vegetables are of the *inanimate* form; and he then gives these two examples; *mehtug*, a tree, *mehtugquash*; *moskeht*, grass, *moskehtuash*." Whether this difference of opinion arises from a difference between the two dialects in this particular, or from some other cause, the editor has not yet been able to ascertain.

wosketompoow, *he is a man*; or *adnoun*, as wompiyeuow, *it is white*; or be the word an *adverb*, or the like.”*

It is unnecessary to enumerate further particulars in respect to the languages of our own part of the country. It should not, however, be overlooked, that the same observations which Eliot and others have made respecting the *northern* dialects, appear to be generally applicable to those of the *south* and other parts of the continent. The editor is the more strongly impelled to extend his remarks on this point, because the plausible opinions, or rather amusing dreams, of certain philosophers (as they are sometimes styled) have still an influence among us, and continue to give currency to speculative errors instead of established facts.

Of these erroneous opinions, founded upon very limited inquiries into the languages of the globe, an ample specimen is given by *Clavigero*, in his valuable *History of Mexico*; where they are also most thoroughly refuted by an appeal to *facts*. To this intelligent author, indeed, subsequent writers, both in our own country and in Europe, have been much indebted, not only for the correction of errors which had been successfully propagated respecting these languages, but also for a refutation of the unfounded opinions of eminent naturalists and philosophers respecting the degeneracy of the animal and other productions of this continent. It will not be useless or out of place, so far as respects the *languages* of America, to advert briefly to those opinions; because they still have, as above observed, an influence in perpetuating error.

In respect to the *general character* of these languages, (to adopt the remarks of Mr. Du Ponceau) “it has been

* Indian Gram. p. 15. This want of the verb *to be* is also noticed in *Edwards's* valuable *Observations on the Language of the Muhhekaneew* [Mohegan] *Indians*, published at New Haven in the year 1788. “They have (says Edwards) no verb substantive in all the language. Therefore they cannot say, *he is a man, he is a coward, &c.* They express the same by one word, which is a verb neuter, viz. *nemannauwoo*, he is a man. *Nemannauw* is the noun substantive *man*: that turned into a verb neuter of the third person singular becomes *nemannauwoo* as in Latin it is said *Græcor, Græcatur, &c.* Thus they turn any substantive whatever into a verb neuter.” The learned author adds in a note—“The circumstance that they have no verb substantive, accounts for their not using that verb, when they speak English. They say; *I man, I sick,*” &c. p. 14.

said and will be said again, that savages, having but few ideas, can want but few words, and therefore that their languages must necessarily be poor." To which the same learned writer thus answers by a direct appeal to the simple fact: "Whether savages have or have not many ideas, it is not my province to determine; all I can say is, that if it is true that their ideas are few, it is not less certain that they have many words to express them." He then concludes his remarks in these strong terms: "For my own part, I confess that I am lost in astonishment at the *copiousness* and admirable structure of *their languages*; for which I can only account by looking up to the GREAT FIRST CAUSE."*

To the same effect are the observations of the venerable Mr. Heckewelder, whose fidelity, and intelligence, and skill (in the Delaware dialect in particular) are beyond all question. In one of his letters he tells Mr. Du Ponceau, that he must not "imagine that their languages are poor"—that he will be still more pleased as he becomes more familiar "with the *beautiful* idiom of the Lenni Lennape"—"I should never have done, (he adds) were I to endeavour to explain to you in all their details the various modes, which the Indians have of expressing their ideas, shades of ideas and combinations of ideas," &c.†

Will any one require a confirmation of the testimony of persons circumstanced as these two writers are; the one distinguished for those habits of accurate investigation which belong to his profession, and the other for that perfect and minute knowledge of his subject, which is the natural result of forty years' study? If such confirmation should be required, it will be found at large, in the work of Clavigero above cited, where the author refutes in detail many erroneous opinions respecting America, which had so long prevailed. He thus quotes a celebrated writer on this subject: "The languages of America are so limited and so scarce of words, that it is impossible to express any *metaphysical* idea in them. In no one of those languages

* Report of Mr. Du Ponceau, p. xxvii—xxix.

† Correspondence, p. 368, 377, 393.

can they count above the number *three*. It is impossible to translate a book either into the languages of the Algonquines or Paraguese, or even into those of Mexico or Peru, on account of their not having sufficient plenty of proper terms to express general ideas." To which Clavigero replies : " We have (says he) learned the Mexican, and have heard it spoken by the Mexicans for many years, but never knew that it was deficient in numerical terms, and words signifying universal ideas," &c. "*We know* that the Mexicans had numeral words to express as many thousands or millions as they pleased ;" and the author then subjoins a long list of them, extending to very high numbers. He then shows that the writers whom he is here opposing, are equally wrong in asserting that these languages cannot express *metaphysical* ideas ; and he affirms " that it is not easy to find a language more fit to treat on metaphysical subjects than the Mexican, as it would be difficult to find another which abounds so much in abstract terms," equivalents to many of which, he declares, cannot be found " in the Hebrew, in the Greek, in the Latin, in the French, in the Italian, in the English, in the Spanish or Portuguese ;" and he gives his readers a list of abstract terms with the corresponding Mexican words, " which (he observes are understood by the rudest Indians." He adds, that it is by means of this abundance of words of this kind, that the deepest mysteries of religion have been explained in that language, and that various books of the Scriptures, and the works of Thomas à Kempis and others, have been translated into it ; which, as he justly remarks, could not have been done if the language had been deficient in terms of this nature. The same observations, he says, are applicable to all the languages spoken in the dominions of Mexico, as Grammars and Dictionaries and treatises on religion have been published in them, as well as in the Mexican.*

Such, then, is the character of the languages spoken by the inhabitants of the *middle* region of this continent ; and since the publication of Clavigero's work, we have

* Clavigero's Mexico, *Dissertat.* vi. *Sect.* 6 ; in vol. 2, edit. 1787.

been enabled to obtain authentick information of various other languages ; particularly of one of the most southern, that of *Chili*, (or the Araucanian, as it is often called,) an account of which is given in the Abbé *Molina's* excellent History of Chili. It will, assuredly, surprise most readers to find how exactly the account given of this language by Molina (who furnishes us with facts instead of hypotheses) corresponds with what Clavigero says of the Mexican ; and how completely at variance they both are with those of the speculative writers above alluded to. "So *copious* is the *Chilian* language (says the author) that, in the opinion of those well acquainted with it, a complete dictionary thereof would require more than one large volume ; for, besides the radical words, which are very numerous, so great is the use of *compounds*, that it may almost be said in this consists the very genius of the language." Again—"Abstract nouns are very frequent ;" and, in another place he states, as a remarkable property of this language, that it makes "frequent use of abstract nouns in a peculiar manner. Thus, instead of saying *pu Huinca*, the Spaniards, they commonly say, *Huincagen*, the Spaniolity ; *tamén cuiàgen*, your trio, that is, you other three ; *épu tamen cajugen layai*, two of you other six will die—*literally*, two of your sixths." The author also mentions in this language (as Eliot, Edwards and others do in the case of the northern dialects) the "practice of converting all the parts of speech into verbs, in such a manner that the whole knowledge of the Chilian language may be said to consist in the management of the verbs."* He adds, that "*proper names* are also susceptible of this elegance. Thus from *Pedro*, is formed the verb *Petron*, to be Pedro ; *Petrobui*, was Pedro Owing to this property, the translation of European works into the Chilian is very easy, in which, instead of losing any of their spirit and elegance, they acquire a degree of precision even superior to the originals. This, among other instances that

* To the same effect, Eliot says of the *Massachusetts* language—"The manner of *formation* of the nouns and verbs have such a latitude of use, that there needeth little other *Syntaxis* in the language."—Indian Gram. p. 23.

might be mentioned, is strongly evinced in the *Christian Thoughts* of the celebrated Bouhours, which was translated in the year 1713. There can be no better test of a language than its *translations*, as its comparative richness or poverty is rendered more apparent in this mode than in any other.”*

But it may possibly still be urged, that whatever is the fact with respect to the languages of Mexico, Chili, and the more civilized parts of the continent, yet the dialects of the more barbarous nations must be extremely poor and deficient in the particulars above considered. As to some of these very dialects, however, we have the unequivocal testimony of Mr. Heckewelder and Mr. Du Ponceau already cited; and their opinion is supported by that of writers who have preceded them. It may, perhaps, appear somewhat like want of respect to persons so well known as those gentlemen are, to adduce the testimony of others in support of their statements; but such has been the influence of the opposite opinion on this subject, that the editor trusts he shall be pardoned for briefly recurring to two or three preceding writers; whose observations in this instance are the more important, as they are founded upon the dialects of the *northern* nations alone. *Colden* informs us, that “the Six Nations compound their words without end, whereby their language becomes sufficiently copious.” *Edwards* observes—“It has been said, that savages have no parts of speech beside the substantive and the verb. This is not true concerning the *Mohegan*, nor concerning any other tribe of Indians of whose languages I have any knowledge. The *Mohegans* have all the eight parts of speech to be found in other languages.” Again—“It has been said also, that savages never abstract, and have no abstract terms; which with regard to the *Mohegans* is another mistake.....I doubt not, but that there is in this language the full proportion of abstract to concrete terms, which is commonly to be found in other languages.”† The late Mr. Zeisberger affirmed the *Iroquois* language (in which

* *Molina's Hist. of Chili*, vol. ii. p. 5. 297, 303, 301, *American translation*.

† *Observations*, &c. p. 16.

he was thoroughly skilled) to be very copious. Roger Williams, who was distinguished for his skill in the Indian languages, in speaking of the dialect of the Narragansets, declares in emphatick terms, that "their language is exceeding copious, and they have five or six words sometimes for one thing."* If any further proof were necessary in this case, we have it conclusively in the single fact, that *Eliot* found a sufficient stock of words in the *Massachusetts* dialect, for a complete translation of the *Old and New Testaments*.

Such, then, are some of the striking facts, which the investigation of these remarkable dialects has already brought into view; and facts of this novel character could not fail to stimulate the curiosity of all, who take an interest in the study of man, particularly of his distinguishing characteristick, the faculty of speech. For, if there is any utility in studying language philosophically, (which all admit,) then it is manifestly indispensable for those, who claim the rank of philosophical grammarians, to make themselves in some degree acquainted with the languages of the barbarous, as well as of the civilized nations of the globe. Accordingly, the illustrious scholars of Europe, particularly of Germany, have for some time past, with their well known ardour and perseverance, been pursuing their researches into the curious dialects of this continent; and they have already examined, with no inconsiderable degree of minuteness, such a number of them as will astonish every reader, whose attention has not been particularly directed to this subject.

In that wonderful monument of philological research, the *MITHRIDATES*, begun by the illustrious Professor *Adelung*, and continued and augmented by the celebrated Professor *Vater*, by the Honourable *Frederick Adelung*, (the distinguished relative of the late professor,) and by the learned Baron *William von Humboldt*, we find "a delineation of the grammatical character of *thirty-four* American languages, and the Lord's Prayer in *fifty-nine* different idioms or dialects of the savages of this coun-

* *Directions* prefixed to his *Key into the Languages of America*. *Williams* also, in speaking of their numerals, says, "'tis admirable how quick they are in casting up great numbers with the helpe of graines of corne," &c. *Key*, chap. iv.

try.”* But what will be the reader’s astonishment to learn, that since the publication of the *Mithridates*, the present learned *Adelung* has been enabled to make a more extensive survey of the languages of the globe than was before practicable, and has enumerated in *America twelve hundred and fourteen* different dialects!† Justly may we (to adopt the sentiment of Mr. Du Ponceau) express our astonishment at the great knowledge which the Literati of Europe appear to possess of America, and of the customs, manners and languages of its original inhabitants; and cheerfully ought we to express our “thanks to the Germans and Russians, our masters,” to whom “the general science of languages is peculiarly indebted for the great progress that it has lately made.”

The vast field of investigation, which is thus opening to our view, would be sufficient to dishearten the most adventurous and resolute philologist, if the *American* dialects were subject to the intricate anomalies of the European tongues,‡ and if they were, moreover, as ma-

* *Report*, in *Histor. Transact.* vol. i. p. xxxii.

† *Uebersicht aller bekannten Sprachen und ihrer Dialekte*; or, *View of all the known Languages and their Dialects*, 8vo. St. Petersburg, 1820. A copy of this important work has been presented by the learned author to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. The *Historical Transactions*, and particularly the labours of Mr. *Du Ponceau*, are noticed by the author in terms of just commendation. In connection with the example of the learned *Adelung*, I cannot forbear mentioning, as an incitement to American scholars, in these researches, that of Baron *William von Humboldt*; who (as an obliging correspondent in Germany justly observes) “unites to his high rank as a politician and nobleman the distinctions of genius and erudition.” This eminent philologist, (says Mr. *Du Ponceau*) “surrounded with the honours and dignities of his country, made a journey into the mountains of Biscay and resided there some months for the sole purpose of studying the Basque Language.” *Report*, p. xxxi. He has also been engaged for some years in the study of the Languages of AMERICA.

‡ The almost inconceivable degree of regularity in the American languages is not the least curious of their peculiarities. *Molina* says of that of *Chili*—“What is truly surprising in this language is, that it contains no irregular verb or noun. Every thing in it may be said to be regulated with a geometrical precision, and displays much art with great simplicity, and a connection so well ordered and unvarying in its grammatical rules, which always make the subsequent depend upon the antecedent, that the theory of the language is easy and may be learned in a few days.” Vol. ii. p. 5, *Amer. edit.* Mr. *Heckewelder* observes of the *Delaware*, that the verbs are conjugated through all their negative, causative and various other forms, with fewer irregularities than any other language that I know of.” *Correspondence*, Letter x. Mr. *Du Ponceau* says too, of the same language, that “it would rather appear to have been formed by philosophers in their closets, than by savages in the wilderness.” *Report*, p. xxvi.

ny have erroneously supposed, for the most part radically different languages. This last unfounded opinion, which has been too much countenanced by speculative writers, has doubtless been one reason why our scholars have not directed their attention to this part of American history; for, in the works of most writers upon this country, we meet with such numbers of Indian names, often ill-defined and as often misapplied, that we become perplexed and distracted with the multifarious group: Just as an uninstructed spectator (to adopt a remark applied on another occasion) who gazes on the endless variety of flowers that adorn the earth, or the innumerable stars that glitter in the heavens, is lost in the irregularity and disorder which seem to pervade those parts of the natural world, and despondingly imagines the knowledge of them to be placed beyond the reach of human attainment. But as we are enabled by the labours of a Newton and a Linnæus to class and systematize the innumerable subjects of those departments of knowledge, and find order and regularity amidst the apparent confusion, so, by the assistance of the Adelungs and Vaters and Humboldts of the old world, and of their zealous fellow-labourers in our own country, we can class and arrange the various languages spoken by man; and thus dissipate the confusion and perplexity which reign through the chaos, and discover, in this, the like wonderful connexion and harmony, which are conspicuous in all other parts of the creation.

We now accordingly find, that the numerous dialects of *North America*, on the East side of the Mississippi, may probably be reduced to three, or at most four classes or families:

1. The *Karalit*, or language of *Greenland and the Eskimaux* :*.
2. The *Delaware*; and

* Mr. Du Ponceau informs me in a late letter, that he is now able to establish the correctness of Professor Vater's important remark—that this *American* language is also spoken in *Asia*, by the tribe of Tartars called the *Sedentary Tschuktschi*, who inhabit the most eastern peninsula of the other continent. See *Mithridates*, vol. iii. part 3, p. 464.

3. The *Iroquois*; to which should be added, as Mr. Heckewelder is inclined to think,
4. The *Floridian* class, comprehending the body of languages, spoken on the whole southern frontier of the United States.

By the study of only three or four original languages, therefore, a scholar will be able to command a knowledge of the numerous dialects which are spread over all that part of America in which our countrymen will feel the greatest interest. In the same manner as, by the knowledge of three or four principal languages of the old continent, we are able to master all the dialects which are to be found from the northern to the southern extremities of Europe.

The *Massachusetts Historical Society*, with the view of co-operating at this time with their brethren of other states in affording such aid as may be in their power to persons engaged in these interesting researches, will devote a portion of their *Collections* to this part of American history; in the course of which it is their intention to communicate to the publick all rare and valuable memorials of the Indian languages, whether printed or in manuscript, which may come into their possession. It is several years since they republished the principal part of Roger Williams' small but valuable Vocabulary of the Naraganset dialect.* They now resume this department of their work by the republication of the present *Grammar* of the *Massachusetts Language*. This Grammar had become so rare, that the Society had not one perfect *printed* copy of it in their extensive collection of early American publications; and they have been indebted to the American Philosophical Society for a manuscript copy, which they have liberally presented, on the motion of their obliging and indefatigable correspondent, Mr. DU PONCEAU. The present republication, however, is made from a *printed* copy belonging to one of their members. The Society is also indebted

* See vols. iii. and v.

to Mr. Du Ponceau for the *Remarks* subjoined to the present edition, which are distinguished by his name: The few other additions to it have been made by the editor; to whose care his colleagues on the *Publishing Committee* have confided this part of the present volume.

It was thought proper to resume the *Indian* publications of the Society with a *Grammar* of some one of the dialects, in order that our scholars might at once be provided with a guide to direct them in their first inquiries; and the Committee have been led by their respect for the memory of the author (and perhaps too by an excusable partiality for a New England production) to select that of *Eliot*; which appears to have been the first ever published in *North America*.* The work itself possesses great merit in many respects; and, with Mr. Du Ponceau's remarks, it will afford essential aid in the prosecution of these studies.

But it is now proper to submit a few remarks more immediately relative to the particular language which is the subject of the present *Grammar*; in doing which it will be necessary to take a general view of the other New England dialects.

The principal nations of Indians in *New England*, at the first settlement of the country by our ancestors, were five:

1. The *Pequots*; who inhabited the most *southerly* part, which comprehended what is now the State of Connecticut. They were once "a very warlike and potent people."†
2. The *Naragansets*; who possessed the country about Naraganset Bay, including Rhode Island and other islands in that bay, and also a part of the State of

* In *Spanish America*, grammars and dictionaries of the native languages had been published a century before Eliot's. Among the valuable books on this subject in the library of Baron W. von Humboldt, of which the editor has a list, there is a *Vocabulary of the Spanish and Mexican Languages*, printed at Mexico, as early as 1571.

† Gookin's *Historical Collections of the Indians in New England*; written in 1674, and first published from the MS. in the *Massachusetts Histor. Collect.* vol. i. p. 147—8.

Connecticut. This tribe is spoken of by our early historians as "a great people."*

3. The *Pawkunnawkuts*; inhabiting the territory of the old Colony of Plymouth. These were also known by the name of *Wampanoags*, and were once in possession of Rhode Island.†
4. The *Massachusetts* Indians; occupying principally the territory which was afterwards inhabited by the English, on Massachusetts Bay. They are described as "a numerous and great people."
5. The *Pawtucket*s; who dwelt north and east of the Massachusetts Indians.‡

Besides these five general divisions, or tribes, of the New England Indians, however, our historians often speak of smaller divisions by specifick names, within the same territory; which smaller divisions seem to have been so distinguished, sometimes in consequence of their local situation, and sometimes on account of a slight difference of dialect.

In respect to the *languages* of these Indians, there seems to have been one principal dialect, which extended through a great part of New England, and was the basis of all the others. *Gookin* (in 1674) says—"The Indians of the parts of *New England*, especially upon the *sea-coasts*, used the *same sort* of speech and language, only with some difference in the expressions, as they differ in several countries [qu. counties?] in England, yet so as they can *well understand one another*. Their speech is a distinct speech from any of those used in Europe, Asia or Africa, that I ever heard of. And some of the *inland* Indians, particularly the Mawhawks or Maquas, use such a language, that our Indians *upon the coast* do not understand. So the Indians to the southward, upon the sea coast about Vir-

* *Ibid.* See also *Roger Williams' Key*; where the author says—"In the *Nariganset* country (which is the *chief people* in the land) a man shall come to many townes, some bigger, some lesser, it may be a dozen in 20 miles' travel." p. 3.

† *Mass. Histor. Collect.* vol. iii. p. 159, and vol. x. p. 20, note.

‡ *Gookin, ubi supra.*

ginia use a speech much different from those in New England.”* *Roger Williams* also, who is spoken of as particularly “skilful in the Indian tongue,”† agrees, substantially, with *Gookin*; though from his remarks we should infer, that there were more differences of dialect than *Gookin*’s account would lead us to suppose. *Williams* says—“with this [the *Naraganset* language] I have entered into the secrets of those countries wherever *English* dwell, about two hundred miles, between the French and Dutch Plantations;” and he adds, that “there is a *mixture* of this language *North and South* from the place of my abode about *six hundred* miles; yet within the two hundred miles aforesaid, their dialects doe exceedingly differ, yet not so, but (within that compasse) *a man may by this helpe converse with thousands of natives* all over the countrey.” In another place *Williams* makes a remark which (as above observed) might lead us, at first view, to conclude, that there were many radical differences in the various dialects alluded to by him. His words are—“The varietie of their Dialects and proper speech within thirtie or fortie miles each of other is very great.” But the example, which he subjoins in proof of this, shows that his expression is to be taken in a qualified sense, and must be considered as founded upon minute distinctions, which would not be thought to constitute “a very great varietie” of language by any person, except one whose ear had been long habituated to the niceties of some particular dialect; every trifling deviation from which would be as striking, as the slightest violation of the idiom of his native tongue. He observes, that this *very great variety* of dialect will appear in this word *Anùm*, a dog, which he sets down in four of the languages, thus :

“ <i>Anùm</i> ,	the <i>Cowweset</i>	} dialect.”
<i>Ayím</i> ,	the <i>Nariganset</i>	
<i>Arúm</i> ,	the <i>Qunnipiuck</i>	
<i>Alùm</i> ,	the <i>Neepmuck</i>	

* Mass. Histor. Collect. vol. i. p. 149.

† *Gookin*; in Mass. Histor. Collect. vol. i. p. 210.

Now, it will be at once perceived, that in three of these four examples there is no other difference of dialect, than the slight one occasioned by the very common interchange of the liquids *l*, *n*, *r*; a difference, which, in a general view of the subject, would not be called "a very great one."*

The observation of the old writers, that there was one principal or fundamental language throughout New England (and even beyond it) is in accordance with the remarks of later writers upon this subject; who have taken a more extended view of these dialects than was practicable at the early period when Williams and Eliot wrote. It will suffice to refer to two writers of our own age, (one of them still living,) eminently distinguished for their skill in the Indian languages—the Rev. Dr. Edwards, whose *Observations* have been already cited, and the Rev. Mr. Heckewelder, whose *Account of the Indians and their languages* is well known to every reader. These two writers, who agree in every thing material to the present question, differ only in this circumstance, that each of them considers the particular dialect with which he happened to be most familiar, as the principal, or standard language, and then compares

* Williams' *Key*, chap. xvii. p. 106, London edit. of 1643; republished (in part) in *Massa. Historical Collect.* vols. iii. and v. Williams adds a remark, which is deserving of notice as a refutation of an *opinion* which at that day (as is often the case in our own) had been hastily formed upon a partial knowledge of the Indian languages: "So that (says he) although some pronounce not *L* nor *R*, yet it is the most proper dialect of other places; *contrary to many reports.*" *Ibid.*

This difference of dialect (which was probably the most important of any, because it is the most frequently alluded to by the old writers) is also noticed by *Eliot* in much the same manner as by Williams; "The consonants *l*, *n*, *r* (says he) have such a natural coincidence, that it is an eminent variation of their dialects. We *Massachusetts* pronounce the *n*. The *Nipmuk* Indians pronounce *l*. And the *Northern* Indians pronounce *r*. As instance:

We say	<i>Anim</i>	(um produced)	} a dog."
Nipmuk,	<i>Alim</i>		
Northern,	<i>Arim</i>		

To which he adds a remark that should not be overlooked—"So in *most* words." *Indian Gram.* p. 2. The *Nipmuk* Indians, or (*Neepmuck*, as Williams writes it) who are here mentioned, had their principal settlement about fifty miles south-west of Boston, on the territory now called Oxford, in the county of Worcester; but their territory extended into the borders of Connecticut. See *Mass. Histor. Collect.* vol. ix. p. 80, note.

all the rest with that; just as an *Englishman* would make his own language the standard with which he would compare the *northern* dialects of Europe, or as a native of Italy would take the Italian language as the standard for those of the south of Europe. Thus Dr. *Edwards*, for example, in speaking of the *Mohegan* tongue, observes—"This language is spoken by *all the Indians throughout New England*. Every tribe, as that of Stockbridge, that of Farmington, that of New London, &c. has a different dialect; but the language is *radically the same*. Mr. Eliot's translation of the Bible is in a particular dialect of *this* language. *This* language appears to be much more extensive than any other language in North America. The languages of the Delawares in Pennsylvania, of the Penobscots bordering on Nova Scotia, of the Indians of St. Francis in Canada, of the Shawanese on the Ohio, and of the Chippewaus at the westward of Lake Huron, *are all radically the same* with the *Mohegan* That the languages of the several tribes in New England, of the Delawares, and of Mr. Eliot's Bible, are radically the same with the *Mohegan*, *I assert from my own knowledge*."*

To the same effect are the observations of Mr. *Heckwelder* respecting the *Delaware* language, more properly called the *Lenni Lenape*. "The *Lenni Lenape* or *Delawares* (says he) are the head of a great family of Indian nations who are known among themselves by the generick name of *Wapanachki*, or *Men of the East*. The *same language* is spread among them all in various dialects, of which I conceive the purest is that of the chief nation, the *Lenape*, at whose residence the great national councils meet, and whom the others, by way of respect, call *Grandfather*."† In another place he says, that "this is the most widely extended language of any of those that are spoken on this side of the *Mississippi*. It prevails in the extensive regions of *Canada*, from the coast of *Labrador* to the mouth of

* *Edwards' Observations*, p. 5.

† Correspondence with Mr. Du Ponceau, *Letter* xiv. (*Transactions*, p. 391.)

Albany River, which falls into the southernmost part of Hudson's Bay, and from thence to the Lake of the Woods, which forms the north-western boundary of the United States. It appears to be the language of all the Indians of that extensive country, except those of the *Iroquois* stock, which are by far the least numerous . . . Out of the limits of Canada few Iroquois are found, except the remnants of those who were once settled in the vicinity of the great lakes in the northern parts of the now State of New York. There are yet some Wyandots in the vicinity of Detroit. All the rest of the Indians who now inhabit this country to the Mississippi, *are of the Lenape stock and speak dialects of that language.* It is certain, that at the time of the arrival of the Europeans, they were in possession of all the *coast* from the northernmost point of Nova Scotia to the Roanoke. Hence they were called *Wapanachki* or the *Abenaki, Men of the East.*" He adds—"In the *interior* of the country we find *every where* the Lenape and their kindred tribes."*

From these different accounts, then, it appears, that the Lenape may properly enough be considered as the principal, or standard language of the *New England Indians*, as well as of various tribes that inhabited the adjacent territories. It appears too, from the concurring testimony of our early historians, that among the Indians of *New England* there was "a great and numerous people," well known and commonly distinguished by the name of the *Massachusetts* Indians, who resided principally on the sea coast of the present State of Massachusetts, the extent of whose territory, however, was probably not very well defined. The editor, therefore, without regarding any of the subdivisions of this nation, (subdivisions, which have given rise to a variety of appellations both for the different portions of the people and for their slightly differing dialects,) has thought it proper to follow the example of *Eliot* in applying to the prevailing dialect of that people the general name of the *Massachusetts Language*. In the same manner, as we include under the general

* Heckewelder's Historical Account of the Indians, chap. ix. (in Transactions of the Histor. and Literar. Committee, &c. p. 106, 107.)

name of *English*, all the provincial dialects spoken in the several counties of England ; though, as far as we can judge, those *county* dialects differ much more from standard English, than the local dialects of Massachusetts did from the standard Indian of the country. This same language is often mentioned by our early writers under different names ; sometimes under the very indefinite appellation of the *Indian language* ; sometimes, however, it is called by its proper name, the *Massachusetts* ; it has also been called the *Nonantum* language ; but more frequently the *Natick* tongue, apparently from the accidental circumstance, that Eliot established his first *Indian church* in the town called *Natick*, which was near Boston and was once the town of greatest note among the Indians in this quarter.

With these remarks the editor submits the present edition of this Grammar to the publick, as part of a series of scarce tracts respecting the *Indian Languages*, which it is the intention of the Historical Society to publish, from time to time, as circumstances shall permit. The present publication will probably be followed by a valuable *English and Indian Vocabulary*, (of the *Massachusetts* language also) composed by Josiah Cotton, Esquire, who was the son of John Cotton and was once an occasional preacher among the Indians ; he died at *Plymouth*, in this State, during the year 1756. The MS. bears the date of the years 1707 and 1708. They also hope to obtain a Vocabulary of the language spoken at the present day by the small tribe of Indians called the *Penobscots*, who reside near the river of that name, in the State of Maine. A vocabulary of this dialect (the *Abnaki*) will be of use in making a comparison of the present language with the same dialect as we find it in Father *R  le's* MS. Dictionary, which was formed a century ago. This last work, of which a short bibliographical account was given, by the editor, in the fourth volume of the American Academy's Memoirs, page 358, and which is the greatest treasure of *Indian*, that is to be found in this part of our country, ought also to be published without delay, lest some accident should deprive us of it forever. But its large size

alone, even if the MS. were the property of the Historical Society, would forbid its publication in these volumes. It is to be hoped, however, that measures will be taken without loss of time, either under the direction of the University, (to whose library it belongs) or of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences to effect its publication.

The editor has thought it might be acceptable to most readers, and not without use, to add to this preface, an account of the *Indian publications* made by *Eliot*; and the following List, which has been collected from the preceding volumes of the Historical Collections, is accordingly subjoined. A valuable account of the *Life* of the venerable author, drawn up by his much respected descendant, the late Dr. John Eliot, Corresponding Secretary of the Society, will be found in the eighth volume of these Collections, and also in the *New England Biographical Dictionary* of the same writer.

JOHN PICKERING.

Salem, Massachusetts,
July 31, 1821.

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List of Eliot's Indian Publications.

1. *The Bible*; of which the *New Testament* was finished Sept. 5, 1661, (See *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. i. p. 176.) and the *Old Testament* in 1663. The second edition of the *New Test.* was published in 1680, and of the *Old Test.* in 1685. Eliot, in a letter of July 7, 1688, to the celebrated Sir Robert Boyle, who was Governour of the Corporation for propagating the gospel among the Indians of New England, and occasionally supplied money for that purpose, speaks of having paid ten pounds to Mr. *John Cotton*, "who (says he) helped me much in the *second* edition of the Bible." See *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. iii. p. 187.—The translation of the New Testament was dedicated to King Charles the II^d; a copy of the "Epistle Dedicatory" may be seen in the *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. i. p. 174.
2. *Indian Catechisms*; several of them.—See vol. i. 172, and viii. 33.
3. ——— *Grammar*; which is printed in some editions of the Bible.—See vol. viii. 12 and 33.
4. ——— *Psalter*.—*Ibid.*
5. *Singing Psalms*.—See vol. i. 172.
6. *The Practice of Piety*, published in 1686.—See a letter from Eliot to Boyle, in vol. iii. p. 187.
7. *Baxter's Call to the Unconverted*.—See vol. i. 172.

THE
INDIAN GRAMMAR BEGUN:

OR,

AN ESSAY TO BRING THE INDIAN LANGUAGE

INTO

R U L E S,

FOR THE HELP OF SUCH AS DESIRE TO LEARN THE SAME, FOR
THE FURTHERANCE OF THE GOSPEL AMONG THEM.

BY JOHN ELIOT.

Isa. 33. 19. *Thou shalt not see a fierce people, a people of a deeper speech than thou canst perceive, of a stammering tongue, that thou canst not understand.*

Isa. 66. 18. *It shall come that I will gather all Nations and Tongues, and they shall come and see my Glory.*

Dan. 7. 14. *And there was given him Dominion, and Glory and a Kingdome, that all People, Nations and Languages should serve him, &c.*

Psal. 19. 3. *There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard.*

Mal. 3. 11. *From the rising of the Sun, even to the going down of the same, my Name shall be great among the Gentiles, &c.*

CAMBRIDGE:

PRINTED BY MARMADUKE JOHNSON.

1666.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE,

ROBERT BOYLE, ESQ;

GOVERNOUR:

WITH THE REST OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND CHRISTIAN

CORPORATION

FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL UNTO

THE INDIANS IN NEW-ENGLAND.

NOBLE SIR,

YOU were pleased, among other Testimonies of your Christian and prudent care for the effectual Progress of this great Work of the Lord Jesus among the inhabitants of these Ends of the Earth, and goings down of the Sun, to Command me (for such an aspect have your so wise and seasonable Motions, to my heart) to Compile a Grammar of this Language, for the help of others who have an heart to study and learn the same, for the sake of Christ, and of the poor Souls of these Ruines of Mankind, among whom the Lord is now about a Resurrection-work, to call them into his holy Kingdome. I have made an Essay unto this difficult Service, and laid together some Bones and Ribs preparatory at least for such a work. It is not worthy the Name of a Grammar, but such as it is, I humbly present

it to your Honours, and request your Animadversions upon the Work, and Prayers unto the Lord for blessing upon all Essayes and Endeavours for the promoting of his Glory, and the Salvation of the Souls of these poor People. Thus humbly commending your Honours unto the blessing of Heaven and to the guidance of the Word of God, which is able to save your Souls, I remain

*Your Honours Servant in the Service
of our Lord Jesus,*

JOHN ELIOT.

THE INDIAN GRAMMAR BEGUN.

GRAMMAR is the *Art* or *Rule* of *Speaking*.

There be two parts of *Grammar* :

1. The *Art* of *making words*.
2. The *Art* of *ordering words* for speech.

The art of *making words*, is

} 1. By various <i>articulate sounds</i> .	} 2. By <i>regular composing</i> of them.

Articulate sounds are composed into

{	<i>Syllables</i> .
	<i>Words</i> .

The various *articulate sounds* must be distinguished

By

{	<i>Names</i> .
	<i>Characters</i> .

These *Names* and *Characters* do make the *Alpha-bet*.

Because the *English Language* is the first, and most attainable Language which the *Indians* learn, he is a learned man among them, who can *Speak*, *Reade* and *Write* the *English Tongue*.

I therefore use the same *Characters* which are of most common use in our English Books ; viz. the *Roman* and *Italick* Letters.

Also our *Alpha-bet* is the same with the *English*, saving in these few things following.

1. The *difficulty of the Rule* about the Letter [c], by reason of the *change of its sound* in the five sounds, *ca ce ci co cu* ; being sufficiently helped by the Letters [k and s.] : We therefore lay by the Letter [c], [p. 2.]

saving in [ch]; of which there is frequent use in the Language. Yet I do not put it out of the *Alpha-bet*, for the use of it in other Languages, but the character [ch] next to it, and call it [chee].

2. I put [i] Consonant into our *Alpha-bet*, and give it this Character [j], and call it *ji* or [gi], as this Syllable soundeth in the English word [giant]; and I place it next after [i vocal]. And I have done thus, because it is a *regular sound* in the *third person singular* in the *Imperative Mode* of Verbs, which cannot well be distinguished without it: though I have sometimes used [gh] instead of it, but it is harder and more inconvenient. The proper sound of it is, as the English word [age] soundeth. See it used *Genes.* 1. 3, 6, 9, 11.

3. We give (v) Consonant a *distinct name*, by putting together (û f) or (uph), and we never use it, save when it soundeth as it doth in the word (*save, have*), and place it next after (u vocal.) Both these Letters (u Vocal, and v Consonant) are together in their proper sounds in the Latine word (*uva* a Vine.)

4. We call w (*wee*), because our name giveth no hint of the *power* of its sound.

These Consonants (*l. n. r.*) have such a *natural coincidence*, that it is an eminent variation of their dialects.

We *Massachusetts* pronounce the *n*. The *Nipmuk Indians* pronounce *l*. And the *Northern Indians* pronounce *r*. As instance :

We say	<i>Anúm</i>	(um produced)	} A Dog. So in most words.
Nipmuk,	<i>Alúm</i>		
Northern,	<i>Arúm</i>		

Our *Vocals* are five : *a e i o u*. *Diphthongs*, or *double sounds*, are many, and of much use.

ai au ei ee eu eau oi oo ∞.

Especially we have more frequent use of [o and ∞] than other Languages have : and our [∞] doth always sound as it doth in these English words (*moody, book.*)

We use onely *two Accents*, and but *sometime*. [p. 3.]
 The *Acute* (') to show which Syllable is first
produced in pronouncing of the word ; which if it be not
 attended, no Nation can understand their own Language :
 as appeareth by the *witty Conceit* of the *Tytere tu's*.

ó produced with the accent, is a *regular distinction*
 betwixt the *first* and *second persons plural* of the
Suppositive Mode ; as

{ Naumog, *If we see* : (as in *Log.*)
 { Naumóg, *If ye see* : (as in *Vogue.*)

The other *Accent* is (^), which I call *Nasal* ; and it
 is used onely upon (ó) when it is sounded in the Nose,
 as oft it is ; or upon (á) for the like cause.

This is a *general Rule*, When two (oo) come to-
 gether, ordinarily the *first* is *produced* ; and so when
 two (ω) are together.

All the *Articulate sounds* and *Syllables* that ever I
 heard (with observation) in their Language, are suffi-
 ciently comprehended and ordered by our *Alpha-bet*,
 and the *Rules* here set down.

Character.	Name.	Character.	Name.
a		n	en
b	bee	o	
c	see	p	pee
ch	chee	q	keúh
d	dee	r	ar
e		f s	es
f	ef	t	tee
g	gee as in geese	u	
h		v	vf
i		w	wee
j	ji as in giant	x	ex
k	ka	y	wy
l	el	z	zad
m	em		

Here be 27 Characters : The reason of *increasing*
the number is above.

And I have been thus far bold with the *Alpha-bet*, because it is the first time of *writing this Language*; and it is better to settle our *Foundation* right at first, than to have it to *mend afterwards*.

[p. 4.] *Musical sounds* they also have, and *perfect Harmony*, but they differ from us in *sound*.

There be four several sorts of *Sounds* or *Tones* uttered by Mankind.

1. *Articulation* in Speech.
2. *Laughter*.
3. *Letation* and *Joy*: of which kinde of *sounds* our *Musick* and *Song* is made.
4. *Ululation*, *Howling*, *Yelling*, or *Mourning*: and of that kinde of *sound* is their *Music* and *Song* made.

In which kinde of *sound* they also *hallow* and *call*, when they are most vociferous.

And that it is thus, it may be perceived by this, that their *Language* is so full of (∞) and $\hat{o}$ *Nasal*.

They have *Harmony* and *Tunes* which they sing, but the matter is not in *Meeter*.

They are much pleased to have their *Language* and *Words* in *Meeter* and *Rithme*, as it now is in *The Singing Psalms* in some poor measure, enough to *begin* and *break the ice* withall: These they sing in our *Musicall Tone*.

So much for the Sounds and Characters.

Now follows the Consideration of Syllables, and the Art of Spelling.

THE *formation of Syllables* in their *Language*, doth in nothing differ from the *formation of Syllables* in *English*, and other *Languages*.

When I taught our *Indians* first to lay out a *Word* into *Syllables*, and then according to the *sound* of every *Syllable* to make it up with the *right Letters*, viz. if it were a *simple sound*, then *one Vocall* made the *Syllable*:

if it were such a *sound* as required some of the *Consonants* to make it up, then the *adding* of the *right Consonants* either *before* the *Vocall*, or *after* it, or *both*. They quickly apprehended and understood this *Epitomie* of the *Art of Spelling*, and could soon learn to *Reade*.

The *Men, Women, and up-grown Youth* do [p. 5.] thus rationally learn to *Reade*: but the *Children* learn by *rote* and *custome*, as other *Children* do.

Such as desire to learn this *Language*, must be attentive to *pronounce right*, especially to produce *that Syllable* that is *first to be produced*; then they must *Spell* by *Art*, and accustome their *tongues* to pronounce their *Syllables* and *Words*; then learn to *reade* such *Books* as are *Printed* in their *Language*. *Legendo, Scribendo, Loquendo*, are the *three means* to learn a *Language*.

So much for the Rule of Making Words.

Now follows the Ordering of them for Speech.

THE several sorts of words are called *Parts of Speech*, which are in number *Seven*.

1. The *Pronoun*.
2. The *Noun*.
3. The *Adnoun* or *Adjective*.
4. The *Verb*.
5. The *Adverb*.
6. The *Conjunction*.
7. The *Interjection*.

Touching these several kinds of *Words*, we are to consider,

1. The *formation* of them *asunder* by themselves.
2. The *construction* of them, or the laying them together, to make *Sense*, or a *Sentence*.

And thus far *Grammar* goeth in concatenation with *Logick*: for there is a *Reason* of *Grammar*. The *laying of Sentences* together to make up a *Speech*, is performed by *Logick*: The *adorning* of that *Speech*

with *Eloquence*, is performed by *Rhetoric*. Such a *use* and *accord* there is in these *general Arts*.

In the *formation* of words *asunder* by themselves,

Consider { 1. The *general Qualifications* or *Affections*
of words.
2. The *Kindes* of Words.

[p. 6.]
The *Qualifications* { 1. In respect of their *Rise* whence
are they spring.
2. In respect of their *Consorts*,
how they are yoked.

In respect of their { 1. *Original words*: *suæ originis*.
Rise some are 2. *Ort words* sprung out of other:
Chiefly { *Nominals*: or *Verbs*
made out of *Nouns*.
Verbals: or *Nouns* made
out of *Verbs*.

In respect of *Consorts*, { *Simple words*: one alone.
some are { *Compound words*: when two
or more are made into one.

This Language doth greatly delight in *Compounding* of words, for Abbreviation, to *speak much* in *few words*, though they be sometimes *long*; which is chiefly caused by the *many Syllables* which the *Grammar Rule* requires, and *suppletive Syllables* which are of no signification, and curious care of *Euphonie*.

So much for the common Affection of words.

Now follow the severall Kindes of words.

THERE be two { 1. *Chief leading* { *Nouns*.
kindes: words; { *Verbs*.
2. Such as *attend upon*, and belong
unto the *chief leading words*.

Attendants on { 1. Such as are *proper* { *Adnouns.*
 the *Chief*, { *to each*; as { *Adverbs.*
 are { 2. Such as are of *com-* { *Pronouns.*
 mon use to both; as { *Conjunctions.*

Independent Passions or *Interjections* come [p. 7.] under no *Series* or *Order*, but are of use in *Speech*, to express the *passionate minde* of man.

Touching the *principal parts of Speech*, this may be said in general, That *Nouns* are the *names of Things*, and *Verbs* are the *names of Actions*; and therefore their *proper Attendants* are answerable. *Adnouns* are the *qualities of Things*, and *Adverbs* are the *qualities of Actions*.

And hence is that wise Saying, *That a Christian must be adorned with as many Adverbs as Adjectives*: He must as well *do good*, as *be good*. When a man's virtuous *Actions* are well adorned with *Adverbs*, every one will conclude that the man is well adorned with virtuous *Adjectives*.

1. Of the Pronoun.

BECAUSE of the common and general use of the *Pronoun* to be affixed unto both *Nouns*, *Verbs*, and other *parts of Speech*, and that in the *formation* of them; therefore that is the *first Part of Speech* to be handled.

I shall give no other description of them but this, They are such words as do express all the *persons*, both *singular* and *plural*: as

Sing.	{	Neen	I.	}	Plu.	{	Neenawun or kenawun,	We.
		Ken	Thou				Kenaau	Ye.
		Noh or nagum	He.				Nahoh or Nagoh,	They.

There be also other *Pronouns* of frequent use:

As the *Interrogative* of *persons*: sing. Howan. pl. Howanig, *Who*.

The *Interrogative* of *things*; { sing. Uttiyeu, or tanyeu.
 { pl. Uttiyeush, *Which*.

*in Mac. who have
 who and I humming are
 howong? what*

Demonstratives	{	of persons :	sing. Yeuh, <i>This or that man.</i> Noh.
			pl. Yeug, <i>These men.</i> Nag or neg, <i>They.</i>
	{	of things :	Yeu <i>This.</i> Ne <i>This.</i>
			Yeush <i>These.</i> Nish <i>These.</i>

[p. 8.]

Distributives ; as { Nawhutchee, *some.* { Tohsuog? { *How many?*
 { Monaog, *many.* { Tohsunash {

But because these are not of use in *affixing* to other *Parts of Speech*, they may as well be reckoned among *Adnouns*, as some do ; though there is another *Schesis* upon them, and they attend upon *Verbs* as well as *Nouns*.

The *first* and *second persons* are of most use in affixing both of *Nouns* and *Verbs*, and other *Parts of Speech*.

The *third person singular* is affixed with such Syllables as *these*, Wut. wun. um. ∞. &c. having respect to *Euphonie* : And sometime the *third person*, especially of *Verbs*, hath no *affix*.

These *Pronouns*, (Neen and Ken) when they are affixed, they are *contracted into* Ne and Ke, and varied in the *Vocal* or *Vowel* according to *Euphonie*, with the word it is affixed unto ; as N∞, K∞, &c.

If the word unto which it is affixed begin with a *Vocal*, then a *Consonant* of a fitting sound is interposed, to couple the *word* and his *affix* with an *Euphonie* : as Nut. kut. num. kum, &c.

I give not *Examples* of these Rules, because they will be so obvious anon, when you see *Nouns* and *Verbs affixed*.

2. Of a Noun.

A NOUN is a *Part of Speech* which signifieth a *thing* ; or it is the *name of a thing*.

The *variation* of *Nouns* is not by *Male* and *Female*, as in other Learned Languages, and in *European Nations* they do.

Nor are they *varied* by *Cases*, *Cadencies*, and *Endings*: herein they are more like to the *Hébrew*.

Yet there seemeth to be one *Cadency* or *Case* of the *first Declination* of the form *Animate*, which endeth in *oh*, *uh*, or *ah*; viz. when an *animate Noun* followeth a *Verb transitive* whose *object* that he acteth upon is *without himself*. For Example: *Gen.* 1. 16. the last word is *anogqsog*, stars. It is an *Erratum*: it should be *anogqsoh*; because it followeth the Verb *ayim*, He made. Though it be an *Erratum* [p. 9.] in the Press, it is the fitter in some respects for an Example.

In *Nouns*, { 1. *Genera*, or *kindes* of *Nouns*.
consider { 2. The *qualities* or *affections* thereof.

The *kindes* of *Nouns* are *two*; according to which there be *two Declensions* of *Nouns*, for the variation of the number.

Numbers are *two*: *Singular* and *Plural*.

The first *kinde* of *Nouns* is, when the *thing signified* is a *living Creature*.

The second *kinde* is, when the *thing signified* is not a *living Creature*.

Therefore I order them thus:

There be two *forms* or *declensions* { *Animate*.
of *Nouns*: { *Inanimate*.

The *Animate form* or *declension* is, when the *thing signified* is a *living Creature*; and such *Nouns* do alwayes make their *Plural* in (*og*); as,

Wosketomp, *Man*. Wosketompaog. (*a*) is but for *Euphonie*.

Mittamwossis, *A Woman*. Mittamwossissog.

Nunkomp, *A young Man*. Nunkompaog.

Nunksqau, *A Girl*. Nunksqauog.

Englishman. Englishmanog.

Englishwoman. Englishwomanog.

So Manit, *God*. Manitioog.

Mattannit, *The Devil*. Mattannittoog.

So Ox, *Oxesog*. Horse, *Horsesog*.

The Stars they put in this form.

Anogqs, *A Star*. Anogqsog.
 Muhhog, *The Body*. Muhhogkooog.
 Psukses, *A little Bird*. Psuksesog.
 Ahtuk, *A Deer*. Ahtuhquog.
 Mukquoshim, *A Wolf*. Mukquoshimwog.
 Mosq, *A Bear*. Mosquog.
 Tummunk, *The Beaver*. Tummunkquaog.
 Puppinaashim, *A Beast*. Puppinaashimwog.
 Askook, *A Snake or Worm*. Askookquog.
 Namohs, *A Fish*. Namohsog. &c.

Some few exceptions I know.

[p. 10.] 2. *The Inanimate form or declension of Nouns*, is when the *thing signified* is not a living Creature : and these make the Plural in *ash* ; as

Hussun, *A Stone*. Hussunash.
 Qussuk, *A Rock*. Qussukquanash.

Of this form are all Vegetables :

Mehtug, *A Tree*. Mehtugquash.
 Moskeht, *Grass*. Mosketuash.

And of this form are all the parts of the Body : as

Muskesuk, *The Eye or Face*. Muskesukquash.
 Mehtauog, *An Ear*. Mehtauogwash.
 Meepit, *A Tooth*. Meepitash.
 Meenan, *The Tongue*. Meenanash.
 Mussissittoon, *A Lip*. Mussissittoonash.
 Mutton, *A Mouth*. Muttonash.
 Menutheg, *A Hand*. Menuthegash.
 Muhpit, *An Arm*. Muhpittenash.
 Muhkont, *A Leg*. Muhkontash.
 Musseet, *The Foot*. Musseetash.

Of this form are all Virtues, and all Vices : as

Waantamoonk, *Wisdom*. Waantamooongash, or onganash.

All *Verbals* are of this form, which end in *onk*, and make their Plural in *ongash*, or in *onganash*.

All *Virtues* and *Vices* (so far as at present I discern) are *Verbals*, from their *activity* and *readiness* to turn into *Verbs*.

All *Tools* and *Instruments* of *Labour*, *Hunting*, *Fishing*, *Fowling*, are of this form. All *Apparel*, *Housing*: All *Fruits*, *Rivers*, *Waters*, &c.

So much for the kinds of Nounes.

The *common Affections* or *Qualifications* are two :

- { 1. The *affixing* of the *Noun* with the *Pronoun*.
- { 2. The *ranging* them into several *Ranks*.

1. The way of *affixing* of *Nouns*, is the put- [p. 11.]
ting or using of the *Noun* in all the *three persons*,
both *Singular* and *Plural*.

This *manner of speech* being a new thing to us that know the *European* or *Western Languages*, it must be demonstrated to us by *Examples*.

Metah, the Heart.

Sing.	{	Nuttah, <i>my heart.</i>	}	Pl.	{	Nuttabhun, <i>our heart.</i>
		Kuttah, <i>thy heart.</i>				Kuttabhau, <i>your heart.</i>
		Wuttah, <i>his heart.</i>				Wuttabhau, <i>their heart.</i>

Menutheg, A Hand.

Sing.	{	Nunnutheg, <i>my hand.</i>	}	Pl.	{	Nunnutheganun, <i>our hand.</i>
		Kenutheg, <i>thy hand.</i>				Kenutheganoo, <i>your hand.</i>
		Wunnutheg, <i>his hand.</i>				Wunnutheganoo, <i>their hand.</i>

Sing.	{	Nunnutheganash, <i>my hands.</i>	}
		Kenuthegash, or kenutheganash, <i>thy hands.</i>	
		Wunnuthegash, or wunnutheganash, <i>his hands.</i>	

Pl.	{	Nunnutheganunnonut, <i>our hands.</i>	}
		Kenutheganowout, <i>your hands.</i>	
		Wunnutheganowout, <i>their hands.</i>	

Wétu, A House.

Sing.	{	Neek, <i>my house.</i>	}	Pl.	{	Neekun, <i>our house.</i>
		Keek, <i>thy house.</i>				Keekou, <i>your house.</i>
		Week, <i>his house.</i>				Weekou, <i>their house.</i>

Nuthassunneum. Nummehtugkoom. Nummoskehteum.
Nummoskehteumash.

Both the *primitive Noun*, and the *diminutive Noun*, may be used in the form *possessive*; as *Nutsheepseme-seum*, and the like.

Nouns may be turned into *Verbs* two wayes :

1. By turning the *Noun* into the *Verb-substantive* form : as *Wosketompoo*, *He became a man*. Of this see more in the *Verb Substantive*.

2. All *Nouns* that end in *onk*, as they come [p. 13.] from *Verbs* by adding (*onk*), so they will turn back again into *Verbs*, by taking away (*onk*) and forming the word according to the Rule of *Verbs*; as

• Waantamoonk is *Wisdom*: take away *onk*, and then it may be formed Noowaantam, *I am wise*. Kōowaantam, *Thou wise*, &c. Waantam, *He wise*, &c.

3. Of *Adnouns*.

AN *Adnoun* is a part of *Speech* that attendeth upon a *Noun*, and signifieth the *Qualification* thereof.

The *Adnoun* is capable of both the *Animate* and *Inanimate* forms: and it agreeth with his leading *Noun*, in form, number, and person.

For example: *Rev. 4. 4 there is* Neesneechagkodtash nabo yau appuongash, *Twenty-four Thrones*. And Neesneechagkodtog yauog Eldersog, *Twenty-four Elders*. Here be two *Nouns* of the two several forms, *Animate* and *Inanimate*; and the same *Adnoun* is made to agree with them both.

The *Inanimate* form of *Adnouns* end some in *i*, and some in *e*.

The *Animate* form in *es*, or *esu*: and those are turned into *Verbs* by taking the *affix*. As

Wompi, *White*. Wompiyeuash.
 Mœi, *Black*. Mœeseuash.
 Menuhki, *Strong*. Menuhkiyeuash.
 Nœochumwi, *Weak*. Nœochumwiyeuash.

The same words in the Animate form :

Wompesu. Wompesuog.
 Mœesu. Mœesuog.
 Menuhkesu. Menuhkesuog.
 Nœochumwesu. Nœochumwesuog.

Put the affix to these, and they are Verbs.

[p. 14.] NUMERALS belong unto *Adnouns*, and in them there is something remarkable.

From the number 5 and upward, they *adde a worde suppletive*, which signifieth nothing, but receiveth the Grammatical variation of the *Declension*, according to the *things* numbered, *Animate* or *Inanimate*. The *Additional* is (*tohsú*) or (*tahshé*), which is varied (*tohsúog*, *tohsúash*, or *tohshinash*.)

For Example :

1 <i>Nequt.</i>	6 <i>Nequtta tahshe.</i>
2 <i>Neese.</i>	7 <i>Nesausuk tahshe.</i>
3 <i>Nish.</i>	8 <i>Shwosuk tahshe.</i>
4 <i>Yau.</i>	9 <i>Paskoogun tahshe.</i>
5 <i>Napanna tahshe</i> { <i>tohsuog.</i>	10 <i>Piuk. Piukqussuog, Piuk-</i>
{ <i>tohsuash.</i>	<i>qussuash.</i>

Then from 10 to 20 they *adde* afore the Numeral (*nab* or *nabo*) and then it is not needful to *adde the following additional*, though sometimes they do it.

As for Example :

11 <i>Nabo nequt.</i>	16 <i>Nabo nequtta.</i>
12 <i>Nabo neese.</i>	17 <i>Nabo nesausuk.</i>
13 <i>Nabo nish.</i>	18 <i>Nabo shwosuk.</i>
14 <i>Nabo yau.</i>	19 <i>Nabo paskoogun.</i>
15 <i>Nabo napanna.</i>	20 <i>Neesneechag</i> $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kodtog.} \\ \text{kodtash.} \end{array} \right.$

Then *upwards* they *adde* to *Neesneechag*, the single *Numbers* to 30, &c.

30 <i>Nishwinchag.</i>	<i>kodtog, kodtash.</i>	
40 <i>Nayunchag,</i>	<i>kodtog, kodtash.</i>	
50 <i>Napannatahshinchag</i>	<i>kodtog, kodtash.</i>	
60 <i>Nequtta tahshinchag</i>	<i>kodtog, kodtash.</i>	
70 <i>Nesausuk tahshinchag</i>	<i>kodtog, kodtash.</i>	
80 <i>Shwosuk tahshinchag</i>	<i>kodtog, kodtash.</i>	[p. 15.]
90 <i>Paskoogun tahshinchag</i>	<i>kodtog, kodtash,</i>	
100 <i>Nequt pasuk</i>	<i>kooog. kooash.</i>	
1000 <i>Nequt muttannonganog</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kodtog.} \\ \text{kodtash.} \end{array} \right\}$	or $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kussuog.} \\ \text{kussuash.} \end{array} \right\}$

The *Adnoun* is frequently *compounded* with the *Noun*, and then usually they are *contracted*: as

Womposketomp, *A white man.*

Mosketomp, *A black man.*

Menuhkoshketomp, *A strong man.*

Menuhkekont, *A strong leg.* Qunuhtug, *of gunni, long.*

Mehtug, *Wood or Tree.* And this word is used for a *Pike.*

When the *Noun* becometh a *Verb*, then the *Adnoun* becometh an *Adverb*.

There is no form of *comparison* that I can yet finde, but *degrees* are expressed by a word signifying *more*: as Anue menuhkesu, *More strong*: And Nano *More and more.* Moecheke, *Much.* Peesik or Peasik, *Small.*

4. *Of the Verb.*

A VERB is when *the thing signified* is an *Action*.

There be two sorts of Verbs. The Verb $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Substantive.} \\ \text{Active.} \end{array} \right.$

The *Verb Substantive*, is when any thing hath *the signification of the Verb Substantive added to it*: as (*am, art, is, are, was, were*) &c. *Actuall being* is above the nature of a *Noun*, and beneath the nature of a *Verb Active*.

We have no compleat distinct word for the *Verb Substantive*, as other *Learned Languages*, and our *English Tongue* have, but it is under a *regular composition* whereby *many words* are made *Verb Substantive*.

[p. 16.] All may be referred to *three sorts*, so far as yet I see.

1. The *first sort of Verb Substantives* is made by *adding any of these Terminations to the word*, *yeuω, aω, oω*; with due *Euphonie*: And this is so, be the word a *Noun*; as *Wosketompω, He is a man*: Or *Adnoun*; as *Wompiyeuω, It is white*: Or be the word an *Adverb*, or the like; as *James 5. 12. Mattayeuωutch, Let it be nay*: *Nuxyeuωutch, Let it be yea*. The words in the *Text* are spelled with respect to *pronunciation*, more than to *Grammaticall composition*: here I spell them with respect to *Grammaticall composition*. See more Examples of this, *Exod. 4. 3, 4, 6, 7*.

2. The *second sort of Verb Substantives* is when the *animate Adnoun* is made *the third person of the Verb*, and so formed as a *Verb*: as *Wompesu, White*: *Menuhkesu, Strong*; may be formed as a *Verb*: *Nωwompes, Kωwompes, Wompesu*. And so the like words.

And of *this sort* are all *Adnouns of Vertue or Vice*: as *Waantam, Wise*: *Assωtu, Foolish, &c.*

Whatever is *affirmed to be*, or *denied to be*, or if it be *asked if it be*, or expressed to be *made to be*; All such words may be *Verb Substantives*. I say, *may be*, because

there be *other wayes* in the Language to express such a sense by. But it *may be thus*.

3. The *third sort* are *Verb Substantive passive*, when the *Verb Substantive* (*am, is, was, &c.*) is so annexed to a *Verb Active*, that the *person affixed* is the *object of the act* : as Nōwadchanit, *I am kept*.

So much for the Verb Substantive.

Now followeth the Verb Active.

A *Verb Active* is when the word signifieth a *compleat action*, or a *casuall power exerted*.

Verbs inceptive or *inchoatives*, I find not; such a *notion* is expressed by *another word added to the Verb*, which signifieth *to begin*, or *to be about to do it*.

Also when the *Action* is *doubled*, or *frequented*, &c. this *notion* hath not a *distinct form*, but is expressed by *doubling the first Syllable* of the word : as Mohmoeog, *they oft met* ; Sasabbath-dayeu, *every Sabbath*. [p. 17.]

There be *two sorts* or *forms* of *Verbs Active* :

- { 1. The *Simple form*.
- { 2. The *Suffix form*.

The *Simple form* of the *Verb Active*, is when the *act* is *conversant* about a *Noun inanimate* onely : as

Nōwadchanumunneek, *I keep my house*.

And this *Verb* may take the *form* of an *Adnoun* : as

Nōwadchanumunash nōwéatchimineash, *I keep my corn*.

Or every *person* of this *Verb*, at least in the *Indicative Mode*, will admit the *plural Number* of the *Noun inanimate*.

The *Suffix form* of the *Verb Active*, is when the *act* is *conversant* about *animate Nouns* onely ; or about both *animate* and *inanimate* also : as

Kōwadchansh, *I keep thee*.

Kōwadchanumoush, *I keep it for thee*.

There be *five Concordances* of the *Suffix form Active*, wherein the Verb doth receive a *various formation*. I think there be some more, but I have beat out no more.

The reason why I call them *Concordances*, is, Because the *chief weight* and *strength* of the *Syntaxis* of this Language, lyeth in this eminent manner of *formation of Nouns and Verbs*, with the *Pronoun persons*.

1. The *first Concordance* is, when the *object of the act* is an *animate Noun*. I call it, *The Suffix animate object : as*

Koowadchansh, *I keep thee.*

2. The *Suffix animate mutual* : when *animates* are each others *object* : *as*

Noowadchanittimun, *We keep each other.*

This *form* ever wanteth the *singular Number*.

3. 'The *Suffix animate end*, and *inanimate object* : *as*

Koowadchanumoush, *I keep it for thee ; or, for thy use.*

[p. 18.] 4. The *Suffix animate form social* : *as*

Kooweechewadchanumwomsh, *I keep it with thee.*

5. The *Suffix form advocate* or *in stead form*, when one acteth in the *room* or *stead* of another : *as*

Koowadchanumwanshun, *I keep it for thee ; I act in thy stead.*

This *form* is of great use in *Theologie*, to express what Christ *hath done for us* : *as*

Nunnupcowonuk, *He died for me.*

Kenupcowonuk, *He died for thee.*

Kenupcowonukqun, *He died for us.*

Kenupcowonukoo, *He died for you.* &c.

All these forenamed *forms of Verbs*, both *Verb Substantives* and *Verbs Active*, both *Simple* and *Suffix*, may be *varied* under three *distinct forms of variation* ; viz.

- { *Affirmative* ; when the *act* is *affirmed*.
- { *Negative* ; when the *act* is *denied*.
- { *Interrogative* : when the *act* is *question'd*.

Again, many of these forms may also be varied in a form *causative*, in all cases where the *efficient* is capable to be *compelled*, or *caused to act*.

All these will be more conspicuous in the *Paradigms*, or *Examples*.

To make *complete work*, I should set down many examples.

But I shall (at present) set down onely two examples: One of the *Simple form Active*, which may generally serve for all the *Verb Substantives*.

The *second Example* of the *Suffix animate form*, which may generally serve for all the *Concordances* of *Verbs suffixed*. Even as the *Meridian* of *Boston* may generally serve for all *New-England*: And the *Meridian* of *London* may generally serve for all *England*.

And these will be enough to busy the heads of *Learners* for a while.

Note this, That *all Verbs* cannot be formed [p. 19.] through *all these forms*, but such *Verbs* as in reason of *Speech* are *useable all these wayes*, which sundry *Verbs* are not; as, *I sleep, eat, piss, &c.*

Before I come to the *Paradigms*, there be other general considerations about *Verbs*.

In *Verbs* consider { 1. Divers *Modes* of the *action*.
2. Divers *Times* of the *action*.

First, The *Modes* of *actions* in this language are *five*.

1. The *Indicative*, *Demonstrative*, or *Interrogative Mode*, which doth fully *assert the action* or *deny it*, or *enquire* if it be asserted:

As { Noowadchanumun, *I do keep it*.
Noowadchanumcoun, *I do not keep it*.
Noowadchanumunas, *Do I keep it?*

2. The *Imperative*, or *Hortative*, or *Praying* and *Blessing Mode*, is when the *action* is *Commanded*, or *Exhorted*

to be done, or *Prayed* for. When a Superiour speaks in this *Mode*, he *commands*. When an Inferiour speaks in this *Mode*, he *prayer*s and *intreats*. When a minister speaks in this *Mode*, he *exhorts*, and *blesseth*.

Wadchansh, *Keep thou*.

Wadchaneh, *Keep me*.

3. The *Optative*, *Wishing*, or *Desiring Mode*, when one desireth the *action to be done* : as

Noowaadchanumun toh, *I wish or desire to keep it*.

4. The *Subjunctive*, or rather the *Supposing*, or *Suppositive Mode*, when the *action* is onely *supposed to be* ; as in these three expressions :

{ *If it be.*
 { *When it is.*
 { *It being.*

And this third *sense* and *meaning* of this *Mode* of the Verb, doth turn this *Mode* into a *Participle*, like an *Ad-noun*, very frequently.

[p. 20.] 5. The *Indefinite Mode*, which doth onely assert the action without *limitation* of *person* or *time* ; and it is made of the *Indicative Mode* by adding the termination (*át*) and taking away the *suffix* : as

Wadchanumunat, *To keep*.

There is another *Mode of the Verb* in reason of speech, and in some other Languages, viz. The *Potential*, which doth render the action in a *possibility to be*. But this Language hath not such a *Mode*, but that *notion* is expressed by a word signifying (*may*) to the *Indicative Mode*. The usual word with us is (*woh*) *may* or *can*.

All these *Modes of the Verb* are *timed* by *Tenses*, saving the *Indefinite Mode*, and that is *unlimited*.

The *times* are two ; *Present*, and *Past*. The *time to come* is expressed by a word signifying *futurity*, added to the *Indicative Mode*, as (*mos*, *pish*, *shall*, or *will*).

In the *Roman Language* there do belong unto this *Indefinite Mode*, *gerundive*, *lofty*, and *vapouring* Expressions; also *supine*, *sluggish*, *dull*, and *sunk-hearted* Expressions. And though the spirit of this People, *viz.* the *vapouring pride* of some, and the *dull-hearted supinity* of others, might dispose them to such words and expressions, yet I cannot find them out.

As *Nouns* are often turned into *Verbs*, so *Verbs* are often turned into *Nouns*; and a frequent way of it is, by adding (*onk*) to the *Verb*: as

Nōowompes, *I am white.*

Kōowompes, *Thou art white.*

Nōowompesuonk, *My whiteness.*

Kōowompesuonk, *Thy whiteness.*

Every *person of the Verb* that is capable of such a *change* in the reason of *Speech*, may so be turned into a *Noun* singular or plural.

Before I set down the Examples of *Formation of Verbs*, I will finish a few *Observations* about the remaining *Parts of Speech*.

[p. 21.]

5. Of Adverbs.

AN *Adverb* is a word that *attendeth* upon the *Verb*, and signifieth *the quality of the action*, by *Extension*, *Diminution*, *Rectitude*, *Curvation*, *Duration*, *Cessation*, &c. according to the various qualities of all sorts of actions.

Adverbs do usually end in (*è* or *u*), as *wame* or *wamu*, All: *Menuhke* or *Menuhku*, Strongly.

The several sorts of *Adverbs* (according as Learned Grammarians have gathered them together) are

1. *Of time.* Yeueu, *Now*. Wunnonkou, *Yesterday*. Saup, *To morrow*. Ahquompak, *When*. Paswu, *Lately*.

Nôadtuk, *A long time.* Teanuk, *Presently.* Kutumma, *Very lately.*

2. *Of place.* Uttiyeu, *Where.* Naut, *There.* Anomut, *Within.* Woskeche, *Without.* Onkoue, *Beyond.* Negonnu, *First.* Wuttát, *Behinde.*

3. *Of order.* Negonnu, *First.* Nahohtôeu, *Second.* Nishwu, *Third, &c.*

4. *Of Asking.* Sun, Sunnummatta ; *Is it ? or Is it not ?* Tohwutch, *Why.*

5. *Of Calling.* Hoh. Chuh.

6. *Affirming.* Nux, *Yea.* Wunnamuhkut, *Truely.*

7. *Denying.* Matta, Matchaog, *No.* Also Mo sometimes signifieth *No.* They have no *Adverbs of Swearing*, nor any *Oath*, that I can yet finde : onely we teach them to Swear before a Magistrate *By the great and dreadful name of the Lord.* The word we make for *swearing*, signifieth *to speak vehemently.*

8. *Of exhorting or Encouraging.* Ehhoh, Hah.

9. *Of Forbidding.* Ahque, *Beware, Do not.*

10. *Of Wishing.* Woi, Napehnont, *Oh that it were.* Toh.

11. *Of Gathering together.* Moeu, *Together.* Yeu nogque, *This way-ward.* Ne nogque, *That way-ward.* Kesukquieu, *Heaven-ward.* Ohkeiyeu, *Earth-ward.*

12 *Of Choosing.* Anue, *More rather.* Teaogku, *Rather, unfinished.* Nahen, *Almost.* Asquam, *not yet.*

[p. 22.] 13. *Of Continuation.* Ash, *Still.*

14. *Of Shewing.* Kusseh, *Behold.*

15. *Of Doubting.* Pagwodche, *It may be.* Toh, *It may be.*

16. *Of Likeness.* Netatup, *Like so.* Nemehkuh, *So.* Neane, *As.*

17. *Of unexpected Hap.* Tiadche, *Unexpectedly.*

18. *Of Quality.* Wunnegen. Matchet. Waantamwe, &c.

Of this kinde are all Virtues and Vices, &c.

Adverbs are oft turned into *Adnouns*, especially when his *Verb* is turned into a *Noun*.

6. Of the Conjunction.

A *Conjunction* is a Part of Speech to joyn *Words* and *Sentences*: As

Causatives. Wutch, wutche, newutche. *For, from, because.* Yeu waj, *For this cause.*

Disjunctives. Asuh, *Or.*

Discretives. Qut, *But.*

Suppositives. Tohneit, *If.*

Exceptives. Ishkont, *Least.* Chaubohkish, *Except, or besides.* Kuttumma, *Unless.*

Diversatives. Tohkônogque, *Although.*

Of Possibility. Woh, *May or Can.*

Of Place. In, en, ut, át. *In, At or To.*

7. Of Interjections.

AN *Interjection* is a word or sound that uttereth the passion of the minde, without dependance on other words.

Of Sorrow. Woi, œwee.

Of Marvelling. Hó, hœ.

Of Disdaining. Quah.

Of Encouraging. Hah, Ehoh.

There be also *suppletive Syllables* of no signi- [p. 23.]
fication, but for ornament of the word: as *tit, tin, tinne*; and these in way of an *Elegancy*, receive the affix which belongeth to the *Noun* or *Verb* following; as *nuttit, kuttit, wuttit, nuttin, kuttin, wuttin, nuttinne, kuttinne, wuttinne.*

Other Languages have their *significant suppletives* for Elegancy: and some of our English Writers begin so to use [*Why*], but I conceive it to be a mistake. Our *suppletive* is rather [*Weh*], and [*Why*] is a *significant word*. It oft puts the Reader to this inconvenience, to stay and look whether it be significant or not;

and some are *stumbled* at it. It is seldom an *Elegancy*, to make a significant word a meer suppletive.

So much for the formation of words asunder.

For the Construction of words together, I will give three short Rules.

1. WHEN *two Nouns come together*, one of them is turned into a kinde of an Adverb, or Adnoun, and that is an *Elegancy* in the Language : of which see frequent Examples. See 1 *Pet.* 2. 2. Pahke sogkodtungane wuttinnowaonk, *The pure milkie word*, for *milk of the word*. The like may be observed a thousand times.

2. When *two Verbs come together*, the latter is the *Infinitive Mode* : as in the same 1 *Pet.* 2. 5. K ω weekik-onitteamw ω sephausinat. *Ye are built, &c. to sacrifice, &c.* And a thousand times more this Rule occurs.

3. When a *Noun* or a *Verb* is attended upon with an *Adnoun*, or *Adverb*, the *affix* which belongeth to the Noun or Verb is *prefixed* to the Adnoun or Adverb ; as in the same Chapter, 1 *Pet.* 2. 9. Ummonchanatamwe wequaiyeumut, *His Marvellous light* : The affix of *Light* is prefixed to *marvellous*. K ω waantamwe ket ω hkam. *Thou speakest wisely* : The affix of *speaking* is prefixed to *wisely*. 'This is a frequent *Elegancy* in the Language.

But the manner of the *formation* of the *Nouns* and *Verbs* have such a *latitude of use*, that there needeth little other *Syntaxis* in the Language.

[p. 24.] I shall now set down *Examples of Verbs* : and first of the *Simple form*. And here

First, I shall set down a *Verb Active*, whose object is *Inanimate* :

as Noowadchanumun, *I keep it.* (*Be it tool or garment.*)

And secondly, I shall set down a *Verb Substantive* :

as Noowaantam, *I am wise.*

Both these I shall set down *Parallel* in two Columes.

*The form Affirmative.**Indicative Mode.*

Present tense.

I keep it.

Sing.	{	Noowadchanumun
		Koowadchanumun oowadchanumun.
Plur.	{	Noowadchanumumun
		Koowadchanumumwo Wadchanumwog.

Present tense.

I am wise.

Sing.	{	Noowaantam
		Koowaantam Waantam noh.
Plur.	{	Noowaantamumun
		Koowaantamumwo Waantamwog.

Præter tense.

Sing.	{	Noowadchanumunap
		Koowadchanumunap oowadchanumunap.
Pl.	{	Noowadchanumumunnónup
		Koowadchanumumwop Wadchanumuppanneg: or oowadchanummuâop.

Præter tense.

Sing.	{	Noowaantamup
		Koowaantamup Waantamup.
pl.	{	Noowaantamumunnónup
		Koowaantamumwop Waantamuppanneg.

The *Imperative Mode*, when it *Commands* or *Exhorts* it wanteth the *first person singular*: but when we *Pray* in this *Mode*, as alwayes we do, then it hath the *first person*; as, *Let me be wise*; but there is no formation of the word to express it; yet it may be expressed by adding this word unto the *Indicative Mode* [p. 25.] [pâ], as, Pânōowaantam, *Let me be wise*. Our usual formation of the *Imperative Mode* is without the *first person singular*, casting away the *affix*.

Imperative Mode.

Present tense.

Sing.	{	Wadchanish
		Wadchanitch.
plur.	{	Wadchanumuttuh
		Wadchanumook Wadchanumahettich.

Present tense.

Sing.	{	Waantash
		Waantaj.
plur.	{	Waantamuttuh
		Waantamook Waantamohettich.

The *Imperative Mode* cannot admit of any other *time* than the *Present*.

The *Optative Mode*.

Present tense.

<i>Sing.</i>	{	Noowáadchánun-un-toh
		Koowáadchanun-un-toh
		oowaadchanun-un-toh.
<i>plur.</i>	{	Noowaadchanumunnán-toh
		Koowaadchanumunnán-toh
		oowaadchanumuneau-toh.

Present tense.

<i>Sing.</i>	{	Noowáaantamun-un-toh
		Koowáaantamun-un-toh
		oowáaantamun-un-toh.
<i>pl.</i>	{	Noowáaantamunán-toh
		Koowáaantamuneau-toh
		oowáaantamuneau-toh.

Præter tense.

<i>Sing.</i>	{	Noowaadchanumunaz-toh
		Koowaadchanumunaz-toh
		oowaadchanumunaz-toh.

Præter tense.

<i>S.</i>	{	Noowáaantamunaz-toh
		Koowáaantamunaz-toh
		oowáaantamunaz-toh.

Plu.

{	Noowaadchanumunannonuz-toh
	Koowaadchanumunaóuz-toh
	oowaadchanumunaóuz-toh.

Plu.

{	Noowáaantamunánôiz-toh
	Koowáaantamunaôiz-toh
	oowáaantamunaôiz-toh.

*It seems their desires are slow, but strong ;
Because they be utter'd double-breath't, and long.*

[p. 26.]

The Suppositive Mode : which usually *flats* the *first Vocal* and *layes* by the *affix*.

Present tense.

<i>Sing.</i>	{	Wadchanumon
		Wadchanuman
		Wadchanuk.
<i>plur.</i>	{	Wadchanumog
		Wadchanumóg
		Wadchanumahettit.

Present tense.

<i>Sing.</i>	{	Waantamon
		Waantaman
		Waantog.
<i>plur.</i>	{	Waantamog
		Waantamóg
		Waantamohettit.

Præter tense.

<i>Sing.</i>	{	Wadchanumos
		Wadchanumôsa
		Wadchanukis.
<i>plur.</i>	{	Wadchanumogkus
		Wadchanumógkus
		Wadchanumahettis.

Præter tense.

<i>Sing.</i>	{	Waantamos
		Waantamas
		Waantogkis.
<i>plur.</i>	{	Waantamogkis
		Waantamógkis
		Waantamohettis.

The *Indefinite Mode*.

Wadchanumunát

Waantamunát.

Indicative Mode. The form *Negative*, which is varied from the *Affirmative* by interposing [∞].

Present tense.

Sing. { Nōwadchanumcoun
Kōwadchanumcoun
cōwadchanumcoun.
plur. { Nōwadchanumcounnonup
Kōwadchanumcōwop
Wadchanumcōog.

Præter tense.

Sing. { Nōwadchanumcounap
Kōwadchanumcounap
cōwadchanumcounap.

Plu.

{ Nōwadchanumcounnanónup
Kōwadchanumcōwop
Wadchanumcōopanneg.

Present tense.

Sing. { Nōwaantamcōh
Kōwaantamcōh
Waantamcōh.
plur. { Nōwaantamcōmun
Kōwaantamcōmwō
Waantamcōog.

Præter tense.

Sing. { Nōwaantamcōp
Kōwaantamcōp
cōwaantamcōp.

Plu.

{ Nōwaantamcōmunnonup
Kōwaantamcōmwōp
Waantamcōopanneg.

[p. 27.]

The *Imperative Mode* of the *Negative simple form*.

Present tense.

Sing. { Wadchanuhkon
Wadchanuhkitch.
plur. { Wadchanumcōuttuh
wadchanumcōhteók
wadchanumcōhettekitch.

Present tense.

Sing. { Waantukon
Waantukitch.
plur. { Waantamcōuttuh
waantamcōhteók
waantamcōhettekitch.

The *Optative Mode* is of seldome use, and very difficult, therefore I pass it by.

The Suppositive Mode of the Simple form.

Present tense.

Sing.	{	Wadchanumcoun
		Wadchanumcoan
		Wadchancoog.
Plur.	{	Wadchanumcoog
		Wadchanumcoóg
		Wadchanumcoahettit, or cohetteg.]

Present tense.

Sing.	{	Waantamcoun
		Waantamcoan
		Waantamcoog.
Plur.	{	Waantamcoog
		Waantamcoóg
		Waantamcoohettit, or cohetteg.]

Præter tense.

Sing.	{	Wadchanumcoos
		Wadchanumcoosa
		Wadchanumcoogkis.
Plur.	{	Wadchanumcoogkus
		Wadchanumcoógkus
		Wadchanumcoahettis.

Præter tense.

Sing.	{	Waantamcoos
		Waantamcoas
		Waantamcoogkis.
Plur.	{	Waantamcoogkus
		Waantamcoógkus
		Waantamcoohettis.

The Indefinite Mode of the Simple form Negative.

Wanchanumcounát

Waantamcounát.

The *Simple form Interrogative*, is formed onely in the *Indicative Mode*: All Questions are always asked in this *Mode of the Verb*, and in no other; and it is *formed* by adding [ás] to the *Affirmative*.

Indicative Mode.

Present tense.

Sing.	{	Ncoowadchanumunás
		Kcoowadchanumunás
		coowadchanumunáous

Present tense.

Plur.	{	Ncoowadchanumunnonus
		Kcoowadchanumunnaóus
		coowadchanumunnaóus Nag.

The *Suffix form animate Affirmative.*

Here I carry in a Parallel our English Verb (Pay) that so any may distinguish betwixt what is Grammar, and what belongs to the word. And remember ever to pronounce (pay), because else you will be ready to read it (pau). Also remember, that (Paum) is the radical word, and all the rest is Grammar. In this remarkable way of speech, the Efficient of the Act, and the Object, and sometimes the End also, are in a regular composition comprehended in the Verb: and there is no more difficulty in it, when use hath brought our Notion to it, than there is in other Languages, if so much.

Indicative Mode. Present tense.

1 sing. { *I keep thee,*
Koowadchansh.
I keep him,
Noowadchan.
I keep you,
Koowadchanunumwoo.
I keep them,
Noowadchanoog.

2 sing. { *Thou keepest me,*
Koowadchaneh.
Thou keepest him,
Koowadchan.
Thou keepest us,
Koowadchanimun.
Thou keepest them,
Koowadchanoog.

3 sing. { *He keepeth me,*
Noowadchanuk.
He keepeth thee,
Koowadchanuk.
He keepeth him,
oowadchanuh.
He keepeth us,
Koowadchanukqun.
He keepeth you,
Koowadchanukoo.
He keepeth them,
oowadchanuh.

1 plur. { *I pay thee,*
Kuppaumush.
I pay him,
Nuppayum.
I pay you,
Kuppaumunumwoo.
I pay them,
Nuppaumôog.

2 plur. { *Thou payest me,*
Kuppaumeh.
Thou payest him,
Kuppaum.
Thou payest us,
Kuppaumimun.
Thou payest them,
Kuppaumoog.

3 plur. { *He payeth me,*
Nuppaumuk.
He payeth thee,
Kuppaumuk.
He payeth him,
Uppaumuh.
He payeth us,
Kuppaumukqun.
He payeth you,
Kuppaumukou.
He payeth them,
Uppaumuh nah.

[p. 29.]

Indicative Mode.

Present tense.

1 plur. { *We keep thee,*
Kōwadchanunumun.
We keep him,
nōwadchanoun.
We keep you,
kōwadchanunumun (wame)
We keep them,
nōwadchanounonog.

2 plur. { *Ye keep me,*
Kōwadchanimwō.
Ye keep him,
kōwadchanau.
Ye keep us,
kōwadchanimun.
Ye keep them,
kōwadchanoog.

3 plur. { *They keep me,*
Nōwadchanukquog.
They keep thee,
kōwadchanukquog.
They keep him,
ōwadchanouh.
They keep us,
nōwadchanukqunnonog.
They keep you,
kōwadchanukōōog.
They keep them,
ōwadchanouh nah.

Present tense.

1 plur. { *We pay thee,*
Kuppaumunumun.
We pay him,
nuppaumoun.
We pay you,
kuppaumunumun.
We pay them,
nuppaumounónog.

2 plur. { *Ye pay me,*
Kuppaumimwō.
Ye pay him,
kuppaumau.
Ye pay us,
kuppaumimun.
Ye pay them,
kuppaumoog.

3 plur. { *They pay me,*
Nuppaumukquog.
They pay thee,
kuppaumukquog.
They pay him,
uppaumouh.
They pay us,
nuppaumukqunnonog.
They pay you,
kuppaumukōōog.
They pay them,
uppaumouh nah.

Indicative Mode.

Præter tense.

1 *sing.* { *I did keep thee,*
Koowadchanunup.
I did keep him,
noowadchanóp.
I did keep you,
koowadchanunnumwop.
I did keep them,
noowadchanópanneg.

2 *sing.* { *Thou didst keep me,*
Koowadchanip.
Thou didst keep him,
koowadchanóp.
Thou didst keep us,
koowadchanimunonup.
Thou didst keep them,
koowadchanopaneg.

3 *sing.* { *He did keep me,*
Noowadchanukup.
He did keep thee,
koowadchanukup.
He did keep him,
oowadchanópoh.
He did keep us,
noowadchanukqunnonup.
He did keep you,
koowadchanukooop.
He did keep them,
oowadchanooópoh.

Præter tense.

1 *sing.* { *I did pay thee,*
Kuppaumunup.
I did pay him,
nuppaumóp.
I did pay you,
kuppaumunumwop.
I did pay them,
nuppaumópanneg.

2 *sing.* { *Thou didst pay me,*
Kuppaumip.
Thou didst pay him,
kuppaumóp.
Thou didst pay us,
kuppaumimunonup.
Thou didst pay them,
kuppaumopaneg.

3 *sing.* { *He did pay me,*
Nuppaumukup.
He did pay thee,
kuppaumukup.
He did pay him,
uppaumopoh.
He did pay us,
nuppaumukqunnonup.
He did pay you,
kuppaumukooowop.
He did pay them,
uppaumopoh nah.

[p. 31.]

Indicative Mode.

*Præter tense.**Præter tense.*

1 plur. {
We did keep thee,
 Kōowadchaninumunonup.
We did keep him,
 nōowadchanōunonup.
We did keep you,
 kōowadchaninumunonup.
We did keep them,
 nōowadchanounonuppanneg.

1 plur. {
We did pay thee,
 kuppaumunumunonup.
We did pay him,
 nuppaumounonup.
We did pay you,
 kuppaumunumunonup.
We did pay them,
 nuppaumounonuppanneg.

2 plur. {
Ye did keep me,
 Kōowadchanimwop.
Ye did keep him,
 kōowadchanuop.
Ye did keep us,
 kōowadchanimunonup.
Ye did keep them,
 kōowadchanooppanneg.

2 plur. {
Ye did pay me,
 Kuppaumimwop.
Ye did pay him,
 kuppaumauop.
Ye did pay us,
 kuppaumimunonup.
Ye did pay them,
 kuppaumauoppanneg.

3 plur. {
They did keep me,
 Nōowadchanukuppanneg.
They did keep thee,
 kōowadchanukuppanneg.
They did keep him,
 ōowadchananopoh.
They did keep us, [neg.
 kōowadchanukqunonuppan-
They did keep you,
 kōowadchanukōooppanneg.
They did keep them,
 ōowadchanōopoh nah.

3 plur. {
They did pay me,
 Nuppaumukuppanneg.
They did pay thee,
 kuppaumukuppanneg.
They did pay him,
 uppaumauopoh.
They did pay us,
 nuppaumukqunnoupppanneg.
They did pay you,
 kuppaumukōooppanneg.
They did pay them,
 uppaumōopoh nah.

The Imperative Mode of the Suffix form animate Affirmative.

Note, That this Mode of the Verb doth cast off the Affix, or prefixed Pronoun, using onley the suffixed Grammaticall variations.

Present tense.

1 sing. {
Let me keep thee,
 Wanchanunutti.
Let me keep him,
 wadchanonti.
Let me keep you,
 wadchanunonkqutch.
Let me keep them,
 wadchanonti nagoh.

2 sing. {
Do thou keep me,
 Wadchaneh.
Do thou keep him,
 wadchan.
Do thou keep us,
 wadchaninnean.
Do thou keep them,
 wadchan nag.

3 sing. {
Let him keep me,
 Wadchanitch.
Let him keep thee,
 wadchanukqush.
Let him keep him,
 wadchanonch.
Let him keep us,
 wadchanukqutteuh.
Let him keep you,
 wadchanukook.
Let him keep them,
 wanchanonch.

Present tense.

1 sing. {
Let me pay thee,
 Paumunutti.
Let me pay him,
 paumonti.
Let me pay you,
 paumunonkqutch.
Let me pay them,
 paumonti.

2 sing. {
Do thou pay me,
 Paumeh.
Do thou pay him,
 paum.
Do thou pay us,
 pauminnean.
Do thou pay them,
 paum.

3 sing. {
Let him pay me,
 Paumitch.
Let him pay thee,
 paumukqush.
Let him pay him,
 paumonch.
Let him pay us,
 paumukqutteuh.
Let him pay you,
 paumukook.
Let him pay them,
 paumonch.

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Imperative Mode.

Present tense.

1 plur. { *Let us keep thee,*
Wadchanunuttuh.
Let us keep him,
wadchanontuh.
Let us keep you,
wadchanunuttuh.
Let us keep them,
wadchanontuh.

2 plur. { *Do ye keep me,*
Wadchanegk.
Do ye keep him,
Wadchanók.
Do ye keep us,
wadchaninnean.
Let us keep them,
wadchanók.

3 plur. { *Let them keep me,*
Wadchanukqutteí, or wad-
chanhettich.
Let them keep thee,
wadchanukqush.
Let them keep him,
wadchanáhettich.
Let them keep us,
wadchanukqutteuh.
Let them keep you,
wadchanukook.
Let them keep them,
wadchanáhettich.

Present tense.

1 plur. { *Let us pay thee,*
Paumunuttuh.
Let us pay him,
paumontuh.
Let us pay you,
paumunuttuh.
Let us pay them,
paumontuh.

2 plur. { *Do ye pay me,*
Paumegk.
Do ye pay him,
paumók.
Do ye pay us,
pauminnean.
Do ye pay them,
paumók.

3 plur. { *Let them pay me,*
Paumukqutteí, or Paumé-
hettich.
Let them pay thee,
paumukqush.
Let them pay him,
paumáhettich.
Let them pay us,
paumukqutteuh.
Let them pay you,
paumukook.
Let them pay them,
paumáhettich.

The Optative Mode of the Suffix form animate Affirmative.

This Adverb (toh) or (napehnont) properly signifieth (utinam) I wish it were. And see how naturally they annex it unto every variation of this Mode of the Verb. Note also, That this Mode keepeth the Affix, or prefixed Pronoun.

Present tense.

- 1 sing. { *I wish I keep thee,*
Koowaadchanunan-toh, or
napehnont.
I wish I keep him,
Noowaadchanun-toh.
I wish I keep you,
Koowaadchanununeau-toh.
I wish I keep them,
Noowaadchanoneau-toh.

Present tense.

- 1 sing. { *I wish I pay thee,*
Kuppapaumunun-toh.
I wish I pay him,
nuppapaumon-toh.
I wish I pay you,
kuppapaumuneau-toh.
I wish I pay them,
nuppapaumoneau-toh.

- 2 sing. { *I wish thou keep me,*
Koowaadchanin-toh.
I wish thou keep him,
koowaadchanon-toh.
I wish thou keep us,
koowaadchaninneau-toh.
I wish thou keep them,
koowaadchanoneau-toh.

- 2 sing. { *I wish thou pay me,*
kuppapaumin-toh.
I wish thou pay him,
kuppapaumon-toh.
I wish thou pay us,
kuppapaumuneau-toh.
I wish thou pay them,
kuppapaumoneau-toh.

- 3 sing. { *I wish he keep me,*
Noowaadchanukqun-toh.
I wish he keep thee,
koowaadchanukqun-toh.
I wish he keep him,
owaadchanon-toh.
I wish he keep us,
koowaadchanukqunan-toh.
I wish he keep you,
koowaadchanukquneau-toh.
I wish he keep them,
owaadchanon-toh.

- 3 sing. { *I wish he pay me,*
Nuppapaumukqun-toh.
I wish he pay thee,
kuppapaumukqun-toh.
I wish he pay him,
uppapaumon-toh.
I wish he pay us,
kuppapaumukqunan-toh.
I wish he pay you,
kuppapaumukquneau-toh.
I wish he pay them,
uppapaumon-toh.

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Optative Mode.

Present tense.

1 plur. { *I wish we keep thee,*
 Koowaadchanunan-toh.
I wish we keep him,
 noowaadchanonan-toh.
I wish we keep you,
 koowaadchanunnan-toh.
I wish we keep them,
 noowaadchanonau-toh.

2 plur. { *I wish ye keep me,*
 Koowaadchanuneau-toh.
I wish ye keep him,
 koowaadchanóneau-toh.
I wish ye keep us,
 koowaadchanunean-toh.
I wish ye keep them,
 koowaadchanóneau-toh.

3 plur. { *I wish they keep me,*
 Noowaadchanukquneau-toh.
I wish they keep thee,
 koowaadchanukquneau-toh.
I wish they keep him,
 oowaadchanóneau-toh.
I wish they keep us,
 noowaadchanukqunan-toh.
I wish they keep you,
 koowaadchanukquneau-toh.
I wish they keep them,
 oowaadchanóneau-toh.

Present tense.

1 plur. { *I wish we pay thee,*
 Kuppapaumunan-toh.
I wish we pay him,
 nuppapaumónan-toh.
I wish we pay you,
 kuppapaununan-toh.
I wish we pay them,
 nuppapaumonnan-toh.

2 plur. { *I wish ye pay me,*
 Kuppapaumuneau-toh.
I wish ye pay him,
 kuppapaumóneau-toh.
I wish ye pay us,
 kuppapaumunean-toh.
I wish ye pay them,
 kuppapaumóneau-toh.

3 plur. { *I wish they pay me,*
 Nuppapaumukquneau-toh.
I wish they pay thee,
 kuppapaumukquneau-toh.
I wish they pay him,
 uppapaumóneau-toh.
I wish they pay us,
 nuppapaumukqunan-toh.
I wish they pay you,
 kuppapaumukquneau-toh.
I wish they pay them,
 uppapaumóneau-toh.

Optative Mode.

Præter tense.

1 sing. { *I wish I did keep thee,*
Kōwaadchanununaz-toh.
I wish I did keep him,
nōwaadchanónaz-toh.
I wish I did keep you,
kōwaadchanununnaouz-toh.
I wish I did keep them,
nōwaadchanónaóoz-toh.

2 sing. { *I wish thou didst keep me,*
Kōwaadchaninneaz-toh.
I wish thou didst keep him,
kōwaadchanónaz-toh
I wish thou didst keep us,
kōwaadchanuneeanonuz-toh.
I wish thou didst keep them,
kōwaadchanónaouz-toh.

3 sing. { *I wish he did keep me,*
Nōwaadchanukqunaz-toh.
I wish he did keep thee,
kōwaadchanukqunaz-toh.
I wish he did keep him,
ōwaadchanónaz-toh.
I wish he did keep us,
nōwaadchanukqunanonuz-
toh.
I wish he did keep you,
kōwaadchanukqunnaouz-
toh.
I wish he did keep them,
ōwaadchanonaouz-toh.

Præter tense.

1 sing. { *I wish I did pay thee,*
Kuppapaumununaz-toh.
I wish I did pay him,
nuppapaumónaz-toh.
I wish I did pay you,
kuppapaumununnaouz-toh.
I wish I did pay them,
nuppapaumonaouz-toh.

2 sing. { *I wish thou didst pay me,*
Kuppapaumineaz-toh.
I wish thou didst pay him,
kuppapaumonaz-toh.
I wish thou didst pay us,
kuppapaumuneanonuz-toh.
I wish thou didst pay them,
kuppapaumónaouz-toh.

3 sing. { *I wish he did pay me,*
Nuppapaumukqunaz-toh.
I wish he did pay thee,
kuppapaumukqunaz-toh.
I wish he did pay him,
uppapaumónaz-toh.
I wish he did pay us,
nuppapaumukqunanonuz-
toh.
I wish he did pay you,
kuppapaumukqunaouz-toh.
I wish he did pay them,
uppapaumonaouz-toh.

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Optative Mode.

*Præter tense.**Præter tense.*

1 plur. { *I wish we did keep thee,*
Koowaadchanonanonuz-toh.
I wish we did keep him,
noowaadchanonanonuz-toh.
I wish we did keep you,
kowaadchanunanonaz-toh.
I wish we did keep them,
noowaadchanonanonuz-toh.

1 plur. { *I wish we did pay thee,*
Kuppapaumunanonuz-toh.
I wish we did pay him,
nuppapaumonanonuz-toh.
I wish we did pay you,
kuppapaumunanonuz-toh.
I wish we did pay them,
nuppapaumonanonuz-toh.

2 plur. { *I wish ye did keep me,*
Koowaadchanineaouz-toh.
I wish ye did keep him,
kowaadchanonaouz-toh.
I wish ye did keep us,
kowaadchaninneanonuz-toh.
I wish ye did keep them,
kowaadchanónaouz-toh.

2 plur. { *I wish ye did pay me,*
Kuppapaumineauz-toh.
I wish ye did pay him,
kuppapaumonaouz-toh.
I wish ye did pay us,
kuppapaumineanonuz-toh.
I wish ye did pay them,
kuppapaumonaouz-toh.

3 plur. { *I wish they did keep me,*
Noowaadchanukqunnaouz-
toh.
I wish they did keep thee,
kowaadchanukqunaouz-toh.
I wish they did keep him,
owaadchanónaouz-toh.
I wish they did keep us,
noowaadchanukqunnanouz-
toh.
I wish they did keep you,
kowaadchanukqunaouz-toh.
I wish they did keep them,
owaadchanónaouz-toh.

3 plur. { *I wish they did pay me,*
Nuppapaumukqunaouz-toh.
I wish they did pay thee,
kuppapaumukqunaouz-toh.
I wish they did pay him,
uppapaumónaouz-toh.
I wish they did pay us,
nuppapaumukqunanonuz-
toh.
I wish they did pay you,
kuppapaumukqunaouz-toh.
I wish they did pay them,
uppapaumónaouz-toh.

The *Suppositive Mode* of the *Suffix form animate Affirmative*.

Note, That this Mode also doth cast off the Affix, or prefixed Pronoun.

Present tense.

1 sing. {
If I keep thee,
 Wadchanunon.
If I keep him,
 wadchanog.
If I keep you,
 wadchanunóg.
If I keep them,
 wadchaog.

2 sing. {
If thou keep me,
 Wadchanean.
If thou keep him,
 wadchanadt.
If thou keep us,
 wadchaneog.
If thou keep them,
 wadchanadt.

3 sing. {
If he keep me,
 Wadchanit.
If he keep thee,
 wadchanukquean.
If he keep him,
 wadchanont.
If he keep us,
 wadchanukqueóg.
If he keep you,
 wadchanukqueóg.
If he keep them,
 wadchanáhettit, or ont.

Present tense.

1 sing. {
If I pay thee,
 Paumunon.
If I pay him,
 paumog.
If I pay you,
 paumunóg.
If I pay them,
 paumog.

2 sing. {
If thou pay me,
 Paumean.
If thou pay him,
 paumadt.
If thou pay us,
 paumeog.
If thou pay them,
 paumadt.

3 sing. {
If he pay me,
 Paumit.
If he pay thee,
 paumukquean.
If he pay him,
 paumont.
If he pay us,
 paumukqueog.
If he pay you,
 paumukqueóg.
If he pay them,
 paumáhettit.

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Suppositive Mode.

Note, Where the singular and plural are alike, they are distinguished by Noh or Neen in the singular, and Nag or Nenawun, in the plural.

Present tense.

1 plur. {
If we keep thee,
 Wadchanunog.
If we keep him,
 wadchanogkut.
If we keep you,
 wadchanunog.
If we keep them,
 wadchanogkut.

2 plur. {
If ye keep me,
 Wadchaneóg.
If ye keep him,
 wadchanóg.
If ye keep us,
 wadchaneog.
If ye keep them,
 wadchanóg.

3 plur. {
If they keep me,
 Wadchanhettit.
If they keep thee,
 wadchanukquean.
If they keep him,
 wadchanukahettit.
If they keep us,
 wadchanukqueog.
If they keep you,
 wadchanukqueóg.
If they keep them,
 wadchanáhettit.

Present tense.

1 plur. {
If we pay thee,
 Paumunog.
If we pay him,
 paumogkut.
If we pay you,
 paumunog.
If we pay them,
 paumogkut.

2 plur. {
If ye pay me,
 Paumeóg.
If ye pay him,
 paumóg.
If ye pay us,
 paumeóg.
If ye pay them,
 paumóg.

3 plur. {
If they pay me,
 Paumhettit.
If they pay thee,
 paumukquean.
If they pay him,
 paumáhettit.
If they pay us,
 paumukqueog.
If they pay you,
 paumuqueóg.
If they pay them,
 paumáhettit.

Suppositive Mode.

Præter tense.

1 sing. {
If I did keep thee,
 Wadchanunos.
If I did keep him,
 waadchanogkus.
If I did keep you,
 wadchanunógkus.
If I did keep them,
 wadchanogkus.

2 sing. {
If thou didst keep me,
 Wadchaneas.
If thou didst keep him,
 wadchanas.
If thou didst keep us,
 wadchaneogkus.
If thou didst keep them,
 wadchanas.

3 sing. {
If he did keep me,
 Wadchanis.
If he did keep thee,
 wadchanukqueas.
If he did keep him,
 wadchanós.
If he did keep us,
 wadchanukqueogkus.
If he did keep you,
 wadchanukqueógkus.
If he did keep them,
 wadchanos.

Præter tense.

1 sing. {
If I did pay thee,
 Paumunos.
If I did pay him,
 paumogkus.
If I did pay you,
 paumunógkus.
If I did pay them,
 paumogkus.

2 sing. {
If thou didst pay me,
 Paumeas.
If thou didst pay him,
 paumas.
If thou didst pay us,
 paumeogkus.
If thou didst pay them,
 paumas.

3 sing. {
If he did pay me,
 Paumis.
If he did pay thee,
 paumukqueas.
If he did pay him,
 paumos.
If he did pay us,
 paumukqueogkus.
If he did pay you,
 paumukqueógkus.
If he did pay them,
 paumos.

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Suppositive Mode.

Præter tense.

1 plur. {
 If we did keep thee,
 wadchanunogkus.
 If we did keep him,
 wadchanogkutus.
 If we did keep you,
 wadchanunogkus.
 If we did keep them,
 wadchanogkutus.

2 plur. {
 If ye did keep me,
 Wadchaneógkus.
 If ye did keep him,
 wadchanógkus.
 If ye did keep us,
 wadchaneogkus.
 If ye did keep them,
 wadchanógkus.

3 plur. {
 If they did keep me,
 wadchanhettis.
 If they did keep thee,
 wadchanukqueas.
 If they did keep him,
 wadchanahettis.
 If they did keep us,
 wadchanukqueogkus.
 If they did keep you,
 wadchanukqueógkus.
 If they did keep them,
 wadchanahettis.

Præter tense.

1 plur. {
 If we did pay thee,
 Paumunogkus.
 If we did pay him,
 paumunogkutus.
 If we did pay you,
 paumunogkus.
 If we did pay them,
 paumogkutus.

2 plur. {
 If ye did pay me,
 Paumeogkus.
 If ye did pay him,
 paumogkus.
 If ye did pay us,
 paumeogkus.
 If ye did pay them,
 paumógkus.

3 plur. {
 If they did pay me,
 Paumehettis.
 If they did pay thee,
 paumukqueas.
 If they did pay him,
 paumahettis.
 If they did pay us,
 paumukqueogkus.
 If they did pay you,
 paumukqueógkus.
 If they did pay them,
 paumahettis.

The Indefinite Mode.

Present tense.

To keep,
Wadchanónat.

Present tense.

To pay,
Paummuonat.

The *third Person* of the *Suffix form Animate* is capable to be expressed in the *Indefinite Mode*.

Note also, *That this mode followeth the Indicative and keepeth the Affix.*

As for Example.

3 sing. {
To keep me,
 Nōwadchanukqunat.
To keep thee,
 kōwadchanukqunat.
To keep him,
 oōwadchanonát.
To keep us,
 nōwadchanukqunnanonut.
To keep you,
 kōwadchanukqunnaout.
To keep them,
 oōwadchanonaout.

3 sing. {
To pay me,
 Nuppaumunkqunat.
To pay thee,
 kuppaumukqunat.
To pay him,
 uppaumonát.
To pay us,
 nuppaumukqunnanonut.
To pay you,
 kuppaumukqunnaout.
To pay them,
 uppaumonaout.

So much for the Suffix form Animate Affirmative.

[A blank page follows, in the original, between this page and 44. Ed.]

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The *Suffix form Animate* Negative.

Indicative Mode.

Present tense.

1 sing. {
I keep not thee,
 Kōwadchanuncooh.
I keep not him,
 nōwadchanòh.
I keep not you,
 kōwadchanoog.
I keep not them,
 Mat nōwadchanoog.

2 sing. {
Thou keep not me,
 Kōwadchaneùh.
Thou keep not him,
 kōwadchanòh.
Thou keep not us,
 kōwadchaneumun.
Thou keep not them,
 Mat kōwadchanoog.

3 sing. {
He keep not me,
 Nōwadchanukōoh.
He keep not thee,
 kōwadchanukōoh.
He keep not him,
 Mat cōwadchanuh.
He keep not us,
 nōwadchanukōoun.
He keep not you,
 Mat kōwadchanukōo.
He keep not them,
 Mat cōwadchanuh.

Present tense.

1 sing. {
I pay not thee,
 Kuppauuncooh.
I pay not him,
 nuppaumòh.
I pay not you,
 kuppauuncomwōo.
I pay not them,
 Mat nuppaumōog.

2 sing. {
Thou pay not me,
 Kuppauueuh.
Thou pay not him,
 kuppauumòh.
Thou pay not us,
 kuppauueumun.
Thou pay not them,
 Mat kuppauueumoog.

3 sing. {
He pay not me,
 Nuppaumukōoh.
He pay not thee,
 Kuppauumukōoh.
He pay not him,
 Mat uppaumoh.
He pay not us,
 nuppaumukōoun.
He pay not you,
 Mat kuppauumukōoh.
He pay not them,
 Mat uppaumuh.

Indicative Mode.

Present tense.

1 plur. { *We keep not thee,*
 Koowadchanunoomun.
We keep not him,
 mat noowadchanoun.
We keep not you,
 koowadchanunoomun.
We keep not them,
 mat noowadchanounonog.

2 plur. { *Ye keep not me,*
 Koowadchaneumwō.
Ye keep not him,
 mat koowadchanau.
Ye keep not us,
 koowadchaneumun.
Ye keep not them,
 mat koowadchanoog.

3 plur. { *They keep not me,*
 Noowadchanukōog.
They keep not thee,
 koowadchanukōog.
They keep not him,
 mat oowadchanouh.
They keep not us,
 noowadchanukōounonog.
They keep not you,
 koowadchanukōōog.
They keep not them,
 mat oowadchanouh.

Present tense.

1 plur. { *We pay not thee,*
 Kuppauumunoomun.
We pay not him,
 mat nuppaumoun.
We pay not you,
 kuppauumunoomun.
We pay not them,
 mat nuppaumounonog.

2 plur. { *Ye pay not me,*
 Kuppauumeumwō.
Ye pay not him,
 mat kuppau mau.
Ye pay not us,
 kuppauumeumun.
Ye pay not them,
 mat kuppau moog.

3 plur. { *They pay not me,*
 Nuppaumukōog.
They pay not thee,
 kuppau mukōog.
They pay not him,
 mat uppaumouh.
They pay not us,
 nuppaumukōounonog.
They pay not you,
 kuppau mukōōog.
They pay not them,
 mat uppaumouh.

Indicative Mode.

Præter tense.

1 sing. { *I did not keep thee,*
Kōowadchanunōop.
I did not keep him,
mat nōowadchanōhp.
I did not keep you,
kōowadchanunōomwop.
I did not keep them,
mat nōowadchanopanneg..

2 sing. { *Thou didst not keep me,*
Kōowadchaneup.
Thou didst not keep him,
mat kōowadchanōp.
Thou didst not keep us,
kōowadchaneumunonup.
Thou didst not keep them,
mat kōowadchanopanneg.

3 sing. { *He did not keep me,*
Nōowadchanukoop.
He did not keep thee,
kōowadchanukoop.
He did not keep him,
mat ōowadchanōpoh.
He did not keep us,
nōowadchanukōounonup.
He did not keep you,
kōowadchanukōoop.
He did not keep them,
mat ōowadchanopoh.

Præter tense.

1 sing. { *I did not pay thee,*
Kuppaumunōop.
I did not pay him,
mat nuppaumōp.
I did not pay you,
kuppaumunōomwop.
I did not pay them,
mat nuppaumopanneg.

2 sing. { *Thou didst not pay me,*
Kuppaumeup.
Thou didst not pay him,
mat kuppaumōp.
Thou didst not pay us,
kuppaumeumunōnup.
Thou didst not pay them,
mat kuppaumopanneg.

3 sing. { *He did not pay me,*
Nuppaumukōop.
He did not pay thee,
kuppaumukōop.
He did not pay him,
mat pāumōpoh.
He did not pay us,
nuppaumukōounonup.
He did not pay you,
kuppaumukōoop.
He did not pay them,
mat uppaumopoh.

Indicative Mode.

Præter tense.

1 plur. { *We did not keep thee,*
Kōwadchaninōmunonup.
We did not keep him,
mat nōwadchanounonup.
We did not keep you,
kōwadchaninōmunonup.
We did not keep them,
mat nōwadchanounonup-
panneg.

2 plur. { *Ye did not keep me,*
Kōwadchaneumwop.
Ye did not keep him,
mat kōwadchanōop.
Ye did not keep us,
kōwadchaneumunonup.
Ye did not keep them,
mat kōwadchanoopanneg.

3 plur. { *They did not keep me,*
Nōwadchanukōopanneg.
They did not keep thee,
kōwadchanukōopanneg.
They did not keep him,
mat cōwadchanōopoh.
They did not keep us,
nōwadchanukōounonup-
panneg.
They did not keep you,
kōwadchanukōōopanneg.
They did not keep them,
mat cōwadchanōopoh.

Præter tense.

1 plur. { *We did not pay thee,*
Kuppaumunōmunonup.
We did not pay him,
mat nuppaumōunonup.
We did not pay you,
kuppaumunōmunonup.
We did not pay them,
mat nuppaumounonup-
pāneg.

2 plur. { *Ye did not pay me,*
Kuppaumeumwop.
Ye did not pay him,
mat kuppaumōop.
Ye did not pay us,
kuppaumeumunonup.
Ye did not pay them,
mat kuppaumōoopanneg.

3 plur. { *They did not pay me,*
Nuppaumukōopanneg.
They did not pay thee,
kuppaumukōopanneg.
They did not pay him,
mat uppaumōopoh.
They did not pay us,
nuppaumukōounonuppan-
neg.
They did not pay you,
kuppaumukōōopanneg.
They did not pay them,
mat uppaumōopoh.

[p. 48.]

The *Suffix form animate* Negative.

Imperative Mode.

Present tense.

1 sing. {
Let me not keep thee,
 Wadchanunooutti.
Let me not keep him,
 wadchanoonti.
Let me not keep you,
 wadchanunonkqutti.
Let me not keep them,
 wadchanoonti.

2 sing. {
Do thou not keep me,
 Wadchanohkon.
Do thou not keep him,
 wadchanuhkon.
Do thou not keep us,
 wadchanéittuh.
Do thou not keep them,
 wadchanuhkon.

3 sing. {
Let not him keep me,
 Wadchanehkitch.
Let not him keep thee,
 wadchanukoohkön.
Let not him keep him,
 wadchanuhkitch.
Let not him keep us,
 wadchanukoouttuh.
Let not him keep you,
 wadchanukoohteók.
Let not him keep them,
 wadchanuhkitch.

Present tense.

1 sing. {
Let me not pay thee,
 Paumunutti.
Let me not pay him,
 paumoonti.
Let me not pay you,
 paumunooutti.
Let me not pay them,
 paumoonti.

2 sing. {
Do thou not pay me,
 Paumehkon.
Do thou not pay him,
 paumuhkon.
Do thou not pay us,
 pauméittuh.
Do thou not pay them,
 paumóhkön.

3 sing. {
Let not him pay me,
 Paumehkitch.
Let not him pay thee,
 paumukoohkön.
Let not him pay him,
 paumuhkitch.
Let not him pay us,
 paumukoouttuh.
Let not him pay you,
 paumukoohteók.
Let not him pay them,
 paumuhkitch.

Imperative Mode.

*Present tense.**Present tense.*

1 plur. { *Let not us keep thee,*
Wadchanuncoottuh.
Let not us keep him,
wadchanóontuh.
Let not us keep you,
wadchanuncoottuh.
Let not us keep them,
wadchanoontuh.

1 plur. { *Let not us pay thee,*
Paumuncoottuh.
Let not us pay him,
paumóontuh.
Let not us pay you,
paumuncoottuh.
Let not us pay them,
paumóontuh.

2 plur. { *Do not ye keep me,*
Wadchanehteók.
Do not ye keep him,
wadchanuhteók.
Do not ye keep us,
wadchanéinnean.
Do not ye keep them,
wadchanuhteók.

2 plur. { *Do not ye pay me,*
Paumehteok.
Do not ye pay him,
paumuhteok.
Do not ye pay us,
pauméinnean.
Do not ye pay them,
paumuhteok.

3 plur. { *Let not them keep me,*
Wadchanehettekitch.
Let not them keep thee,
wadchanukóohkon.
Let not them keep him,
wadchanahettekitch.
Let not them keep us,
wadchanukóouttuh.
Let not them keep you,
wadchanukóhteok.
Let not them keep them,
wadchanahettekitch.

3 plur. { *Let not them pay me,*
Paumehettekitch.
Let not them pay thee,
paumukóohkon.
Let not them pay him,
paumahettekitch.
Let not them pay us,
paumukóouttuh.
Let not them pay you,
paumukóhteok.
Let not them pay them,
paumahettekitch.

[p. 50.]

The *Suffix form Animate Negative*.

Optative Mode.

Present tense.

1 sing. { *I wish I keep not thee,*
 Kōwaadchanuncoun-toh.
I wish I keep not him,
 nōwaadchanoun-toh.
I wish I keep not you,
 kōwaadchanuncōuneau-toh.
I wish I keep not them,
 nōwaadchanouneau-toh.

Present tense.

1 sing. { *I wish I do not pay thee,*
 Kuppapaumuncoun-toh.
I wish I do not pay him,
 nuppapaumoon-toh.
I wish I do not pay you,
 kuppapaumuncōuneau-toh.
I wish I do not pay them,
 nuppapaumouneau-toh.

2 sing. { *I wish thou do not keep me.*
 Kōwaadchanein-toh.
I wish thou do not keep him,
 kōwaadchanoon-toh.
I wish thou do not keep us,
 kōwaadchanein-toh.
I wish thou do not keep them,
 kōwaadchanouneau-toh.

2 sing. { *I wish thou do not pay me,*
 Kuppapauméin-toh.
I wish thou do not pay him,
 kuppapaumoon-toh.
I wish thou do not pay us,
 kuppapauméinan-toh.
I wish thou do not pay them,
 kuppapaumouneau-toh.

3 sing. { *I wish he do not keep me,*
 Nōwaadchanukcoun-toh.
I wish he do not keep thee,
 kōwaadchanukcoun-toh.
I wish he do not keep him,
 cōwaadchanoon-toh.
I wish he do not keep us,
 nōwaadchanukcounan-toh.
I wish he do not keep you,
 kōwaadchanukcōuneau-toh.
I wish he do not keep them,
 cōwaadchanoon-toh.

3 sing. { *I wish he do not pay me,*
 Nuppapaumukcoun-toh.
I wish he do not pay thee,
 kuppapaumukcoun-toh.
I wish he do not pay him,
 uppapaumoun-toh.
I wish he do not pay us,
 nuppapaumukcounan-toh.
I wish he do not pay you,
 kuppapaumukcōuneau-toh.
I wish he do not pay them,
 uppapaumouneau-toh.

Optative Mode.

Present tense.

1 plur. { *I wish we do not keep thee,*
Kōwaadchanuncōunan-toh.
I wish we do not keep him,
noowaadchanounan-toh.
I wish we do not keep you,
kōwaadchanounan-toh.
I wish we do not keep them,
noowaadchanounan-toh.

2 plur. { *I wish ye do not keep me,*
Kōwaadchaneinneau-toh.
I wish ye do not keep him,
kōwaadchanouneau-toh.
I wish ye do not keep us,
kōwaadchanéinnean-toh.
I wish ye do not keep them,
kōwaadchanouneau-toh.

3 plur. { *I wish they do not keep me,*
Noowaadchanukcōuneau-toh.
I wish they do not keep thee,
kōwaadchanukcōuneau-toh.
I wish they do not keep him,
cowaadchanouneau-toh.
I wish they do not keep us,
noowaadchanukcōunan-toh.
I wish they do not keep you,
kōwaadchanukcōuneau-toh.
I wish they do not keep them,
cowaadchanouneau-toh.

Present tense.

1 plur. { *I wish we do not pay thee,*
Kuppapaumuncōon-toh.
I wish we do not pay him,
nuppapaumoon-toh.
I wish we do not pay you,
kuppapaumuncōunan-toh.
I wish we do not pay them,
nuppapaumounan-toh.

2 plur. { *I wish ye do not pay me,*
Kuppapauméineau-toh.
I wish ye do not pay him,
kuppapaumooneau-toh.
I wish ye do not pay us,
kuppapauméinan-toh.
I wish ye do not pay them,
kuppapaumooneau-toh.

3 plur. { *I wish they do not pay me,*
Nuppapaumukcōuneau-toh.
I wish they do not pay thee,
kuppapaumukcōuneau-toh.
I wish they do not pay him,
uppapaumouneau-toh.
I wish they do not pay us,
nuppapaumukcōunan-toh.
I wish they do not pay you,
kuppapaumukcōuneau-toh.
I wish they do not pay them,
uppapaumouneau-toh.

Optative Mode.

Præter tense.

1 sing. { *I wish I did not keep thee,*
Koowaadchanuncounaz-toh.
I wish I did not keep him,
noowaadchanounaz-toh.
I wish I did not keep you,
koowaadchanounaouz-toh.
I wish I did not keep them,
noowaadchanounaouz-toh.

2 sing. { *I wish thou didst not keep me,*
Koowaadchanéinaz-toh.
I wish thou didst not keep him,
koowaadchanounaz-toh.
I wish thou didst not keep us,
koowaadchaneinanonaz-toh.
I wish thou didst not keep
them,
koowaadchanounnaouz-toh.

3 sing. { *I wish he did not keep me,*
Noowaadchanukounuz-toh.
I wish he did not keep thee,
koowaadchanukounaz-toh.
I wish he did not keep him,
oowaadchanounaz-toh.
I wish he did not keep us,
noowaadchanukounanonuz-
toh.
I wish he did not keep you,
koowaadchanukounaouz-toh.
I wish he did not keep them,
oowaadchanounaouz-toh.

Præter tense.

1 sing. { *I wish I did not pay thee,*
Kuppapaumuncounaz-toh.
I wish I did not pay him,
nuppapaumounaz-toh.
I wish I did not pay you,
kuppapaumuncounaouz-toh.
I wish I did not pay them,
nuppapaumounaouz-toh.

2 sing. { *I wish thou didst not pay me,*
Kuppapauméinaz-toh.
I wish thou didst not pay him,
kuppapaumounaz-toh.
I wish thou didst not pay us,
kuppapauméinanonuz-toh.
I wish thou didst not pay them,
kuppapaumounaouz-toh.

3 sing. { *I wish he did not pay me,*
Nuppapaumukounaz-toh.
I wish he did not pay thee,
kuppapaumukounaz-toh.
I wish he did not pay him,
uppapaumounaz-toh.
I wish he did not pay us,
nuppapaumukounanonuz-toh.
I wish he did not pay you,
kuppapaumukounaouz-toh.
I wish he did not pay them,
uppapaumounaz-toh.

Optative Mode.

*Præter tense.**Præter tense.*

1 plur. { *I wish we did not keep thee,*
Kooaadchanuncounanonuz-toh.
I wish we did not keep him,
noowaadchanounanouz-toh.
I wish we did not keep you,
kooaadchanounaouz-toh.
I wish we did not keep them,
noowaadchanounaouz-toh.

1 plur. { *I wish we did not pay thee,*
Kuppapaumuncounanonuz-toh.
I wish we did not pay him,
nuppapaumounanonuz-toh.
I wish we did not pay you,
kuppapaumuncounaouz-toh.
I wish we did not pay them,
nuppapaumounaouz-toh.

2 plur. { *I wish ye did not keep me,*
Kooaadchanéinaouz-toh.
I wish ye did not keep him,
kooaadchanónuaouz-toh.
I wish ye did not keep us,
kooaadchanéinanonaz-toh.
I wish ye did not keep them,
kooaadchanounaouz-toh.

2 plur. { *I wish ye did not pay me,*
Kuppapauméinaouz-toh.
I wish ye did not pay him,
kuppapaumoonaoaz-toh.
I wish ye did not pay us,
kuppapauméinnanonaz-toh.
I wish ye did not pay them,
kuppapaumoonaoaz-toh.

3 plur. { *I wish they did not keep me,*
Noowaadchanukounnaz-toh.
I wish they did not keep thee,
kooaadchanukounnaz-toh.
I wish they did not keep him,
oowaadchanounaoaz-toh.
I wish they did not keep us,
noowaadchanukounanonaz-toh.
I wish they did not keep you,
kooaadchanukounaouz-toh.
I wish they did not keep them,
oowaadchanounaoaz-toh.

3 plur. { *I wish they did not pay me,*
Nuppapaumukounaooz-toh.
I wish they did not pay thee,
kuppapaumukounaooz-toh.
I wish they did not pay him,
uppapaumoonaz-toh.
I wish they did not pay us,
nuppapaumukounnanonaz-toh.
I wish they did not pay you,
kuppapaumukounaouz-toh.
I wish they did not pay them,
uppapaumounaoaz-toh.

[p. 54.]

The *Suffix form Animate Negative.*

Suppositive Mode.

Present tense.

1 sing. {
 If I keep not thee,
 Wadchanuncoon.
 If I keep not him,
 wadchanoog.
 If I keep not you,
 wadchanuncoog.
 If I keep not them,
 wadchanoog.

2 sing. {
 If thou keep not me,
 wadchaneean.
 If thou keep not him,
 wadchanoadt.
 If thou keep not us,
 wadchaneeg.
 If thou keep not them,
 wadchanoadt.

3 sing. {
 If he keep not me,
 Wadchaneegk.
 If he keep not thee,
 wadchanukcoan.
 If he keep not him,
 wadchanunk.
 If he keep not us,
 wadchanukcoog.
 If he keep not you,
 wadchanukcoog.
 If he keep not them,
 wadchanunk.

Present tense.

1 sing. {
 If I pay not thee,
 Paumuncoon.
 If I pay not him,
 Paumoog.
 If I pay not you,
 Paumuncoog.
 If I pay not them,
 Paumoog.

2 sing. {
 If thou pay not me,
 Paumeean.
 If thou pay not him,
 Paumoadt.
 If thou pay not us,
 Paumeeog.
 If thou pay not them,
 Paumoadt.

3 sing. {
 If he pay not me,
 Paumeeegk.
 If he pay not thee,
 paumukcoan.
 If he pay not him,
 paumunk.
 If he pay not us,
 paumukcoog.
 If he pay not you,
 paumukcoog.
 If he pay not them,
 paumunk.

Suppositive Mode.

Present tense.

1 plur. { *If we keep not thee,*
Wadchanunooog.
If we keep not him,
wadchanoogkut.
If we keep not you,
wadchanunooog.
If we keep not them,
wadchanoogkut.

2 plur. { *If ye keep not me,*
Wadchaneeoog.
If ye keep not him,
wadchanoog.
If ye keep not us,
wadchaneeoog.
If ye keep not them,
wadchanoog.

3 plur. { *If they keep not me,*
Wadchanehetteg.
If they keep not thee,
wadchanukooan.
If they keep not him,
wadchanahetteg.
If they keep not us,
wadchanukooog.
If they keep not you,
wadchanukooog.
If they keep not them,
wadchanahetteg.

Present tense.

1 plur. { *If we pay not thee,*
Paumunooog.
If we pay not him,
paumoogkut.
If we pay not you,
paumunooog.
If we pay not them,
paumoogkut.

2 plur. { *If ye pay not me,*
Paumeeoog.
If ye pay not him,
paumooog.
If ye pay not us,
paumeeoog.
If ye pay not them,
paumooog.

3 plur. { *If they pay not me,*
Paumehetteg.
If they pay not thee,
paumukooan.
If they pay not him,
paumahetteg.
If they pay not us,
paumukooog.
If they pay not you,
paumukooog.
If they pay not them,
paumahetteg.

[p. 56.]

Suppositive Mode.

Præter tense.

1 sing. { *If I did not keep thee,*
Wadchanuncoos.
If I did not keep him,
wadchanoogkus.
If I did not keep you,
wadchanuncoogkus.
If I did not keep them,
wadchanoogkus.

2 sing. { *If thou didst not keep me,*
Wadchaneas.
If thou didst not keep him,
wadchanoas.
If thou didst not keep us,
wadchaneegkus.
If thou didst not keep them,
wadchanoogkus.

3 sing. { *If he did not keep me,*
Wadchaneekus.
If he did not keep thee,
wadchanukcoas.
If he did not keep him,
wadchanunkus.
If he did not keep us,
wadchanukcoogkus.
If he did not keep you,
wadchanukogkus.
If he did not keep them,
wadchanunkus.

Præter tense.

1 sing. { *If I did not pay thee,*
Paumuncoos.
If I did not pay him,
paumoogkus.
If I did not pay you,
paumuncoogkus.
If I did not pay them,
paumoogkus.

2 sing. { *If thou didst not pay me,*
Paumeeas.
If thou didst not pay him,
paumoas.
If thou didst not pay us,
paumeeogkus.
If thou didst not pay them,
paumoogkus.

3 sing. { *If he did not pay me,*
Paumeeekus.
If he did not pay thee,
paumukcoas.
If he did not pay him,
paumunkus.
If he did not pay us,
paumukcoogkus.
If he did not pay you,
paumukcoogkus.
If he did not pay them,
paumunkus.

Suppositive Mode.

*Præter tense.**Præter tense.*

1 plur. {
 If we did not keep thee,
 Wadchanunooogkus.
 If we did not keep him,
 wadchanoogkutus.
 If we did not keep you,
 wadchanunooogkus.
 If we did not keep them,
 wadchanoogkutus.

1 plur. {
 If we did not pay thee,
 Paumunooogkus.
 If we did not pay him,
 paumoogkutus.
 If we did not pay you,
 paumunooogkus.
 If we did not pay them,
 paumoogkutus.

2 plur. {
 If ye did not keep me,
 Wadchaneeoogkus.
 If ye did not keep him,
 wadchanooogkus,
 If ye did not keep us,
 wadchaneeoogkus.
 If ye did not keep them,
 wadchanooogkus.

2 plur. {
 If ye did not pay me,
 Paumeeoogkus.
 If ye did not pay him,
 paumoogkus.
 If ye did not pay us,
 paumeeoogkus.
 If ye did not pay them,
 paumoogkus.

3 plur. {
 If they did not keep me,
 Wadchanehettegkis.
 If they did not keep thee,
 wadchanukooas.
 If they did not keep him,
 wadchanupkus.
 If they did not keep us,
 wadchanukooogkus.
 If they did not keep you,
 wadchanukooogkus.
 If they did not keep them,
 wadchanahettegkis.

3 plur. {
 If they did not pay me,
 Paumehettegkis.
 If they did not pay thee,
 paumukooas.
 If they did not pay him,
 paumunkus.
 If they did not pay us,
 paumukooogkus.
 If they did not pay you,
 paumukooogkus.
 If they did not pay them,
 paumahettegkis.

[p. 58.]

The Indefinite Mode.

Present tense.

Not to keep,
Wadchanounat.

Present tense.

Not to pay,
Paummuḍounat.

The *third Person* of the *Suffix form Animate Negative* is found expressible in this *Mode Indefinite*: As

3 sing. { *Not to keep me,*
Nōwadchanukōounat.
Not to keep thee,
kōwadchanukōounat.
Not to keep him,
ōwadchanounat.
Not to keep us,
nōwadchanukōounnanonut.
Not to keep you,
kōwadchanukōounnaout.
Not to keep them,
ōwadchanounat.

3 sing. { *Not to pay me,*
Nuppaumukōounat.
Not to pay thee,
kuppaumukōounat.
Not to pay him,
uppaumounat.
Not to pay us,
nuppaumukōounnanonut.
Not to pay you,
kuppaumukōounnaout.
Not to pay them,
uppaumounnaout.

So much for the Suffix form Animate Negative.

The *Suffix form Animate Causative* is not universally applicable to this *Verb*; neither have I yet fully beat it out: onely in some chief wayes of the use of it in Speech I shall here set down, leaving the rest for afterwards, if God will, and that I live to adde unto this beginning.

Affirmative.

- 1 { *I cause thee to keep me,*
Kōwadchanumwaheshnuh-
hog.
I cause thee to keep him,
kōwadchanumwahunun.
I cause thee to keep them,
kōwadchanumwahunununk.
- 2 { *Thou makest me keep him,*
Kōwadchanumwahren.
Thou makest me keep them,
kōwadchanumwāheneunk.
- 3 { *He maketh me keep him,*
Nōwadchanumwahikqun-
uh.
He maketh me keep them,
nah nōwadchanūwahik-
qūuh.

Negative.

- 1 { *I cause thee not to keep me,*
Kōwadchanūwahūcohnuh-
hog.
I cause thee not to keep him,
kōwadchanumwahuncoun.
I cause thee not to keep them,
kōwadchanumwahuncoun-
unūk.
- 2 { *Thou makest me not keep him,*
Kōwadchanumwahéin.
Thou makest me not keep them
kōwadchanumwaheinunk.
- 3 { *He maketh me not keep him,*
Nōwadchanumwahikcoun-
uh.
He maketh me not keep them,
Ibid.

Imperative Mode.

- { *Make me keep him,*
Wadchanumwahēh n noh.
Make me keep them,
Nah wadchanumwahēh.
- { *Make me not keep him,*
wadchanumwahēhkon.
Make me not keep them,
Ibid.

Suppositive Mode.

- { *If thou make me keep him,*
Wadchanumwahean yeuoh.
- { *If thou make me not keep him,*
Wadchanumwaheean.

[p. 60.]

I WAS purposed to put in no more Paradigms of Verbs ; but considering that all Languages (so farre as I know) and this also, do often make use of the Verb Substantive Passive, and in the reason of Speech it is of frequent use : Considering also that it doth differ in its formation from other Verbs, and that Verbals are often derived out of this form, as Wadchanittuonk, Salvation, &c. &c. I have therefore here put down an Example thereof.

The Verb Substantive Passive.

Nōowadchanit,

I am kept.

Indicative Mode.

Present tense.

sing. { *I am kept,*
Nōowadchanit.
Thou art kept,
kōowadchanit.
He is kept,
wadchanau.

Present tense.

plur. { *We are kept,*
Nōowadchanitteamun.
Ye are kept,
kōowadchanitteamwōo.
They are kept,
wadchanoog.

Præter tense.

sing. { *I was kept,*
Nōowadchanitteap.
Thou wast kept,
kōowadchanitteap.
He was kept,
wadchanop.

Præter tense.

plur. { *We were kept,*
Nōowadchanitteamunónup.
Ye were kept,
kōowadchanitteamwóp.
They were kept,
wadchanopanneg.

Imperative Mode.

sing. { *Let me be kept,*
Wadchanitteadi.
Be thou kept,
wadchanitteash.
Let him be kept,
wadchanaj.

plur. { *Let us be kept,*
Wadchanitteatuh.
Be ye kept,
wadchanitteak.
Let them be kept,
wadchanaj.

Optative Mode.

Present tense.

sing. { *I wish I be kept,*
Nōowaadchanittean-toh.
I wish thou be kept,
kōowaadchanittean-toh.
I wish he be kept,
waadchanon-toh.

Present tense.

plur. { *I wish we be kept,*
Nōowaadchanitteanan-toh.
I wish ye be kept,
kōowaadchanitteaneau-toh.
I wish they be kept,
waadchanoneau-toh.

Præter tense.

sing. { *I wish I was kept,*
Nōowaadchanitteanaz-toh.
I wish thou wast kept,
kōowaadchanitteanaz-toh.
I wish he was kept,
waadchanònaz-toh.

Præter tense.

plur. { *I wish we were kept,*
Nōowaadchanitteananòuz-toh.
I wish ye were kept,
kōowaadchanitteanaouz-toh.
I wish they were kept,
waadchanonaouz-toh.

[p. 62.]

Suppositive Mode.

Present tense.

sing. { *When I am kept,*
Wadchanitteaoon.
When thou art kept,
wadchanitteaan.
When he is kept,
wadchanit noh.

Present tense.

plur. { *When we are kept,*
Wadchanitteaoog.
When ye are kept,
wadchanitteaoóg.
When they are kept,
wadchanit nag.

The *Præter tense* is formed by *adding* (us or ás) unto the *Present tense*.

Indefinite Mode.

Wadchanittéinát,

To be kept.

The form *Negative* of the Verb *Substantive Passive*.

Indicative Mode.

Present tense.

sing. { *I am not kept,*
Noowadchanitteòh.
Thou art not kept,
koowadchanitteòh.
He is not kept,
Mat wadchanau.

Present tense.

plur. { *We are not kept,*
Noowadchanitteoumun.
Ye are not kept,
koowadchanitteoumwò.
They are not kept,
Mat wadchanoog.

Præter tense.

sing. { *I was not kept,*
Noowadchanitteohp.
Thou wast not kept,
koowadchanitteohp.
He was not kept,
Mat wadchanôuop.

Præter tense.

plur. { *We were not kept,* [up.
Noowadchanitteoumunnon-
Ye were not kept,
koowadchanitteoumwop.
They were not kept,
Mat wadchanoop.

Imperative Mode of the form Negative Passive.

sing. { *Be thou not kept,*
Wadchanittuhkon.
Let not him be kept,
wadchittekich.

plur. { *Be not ye kept,*
Wadchanittuhkook.
Let not them be kept,
wadchanittekhettich.

*Suppositive Mode Passive Negative.**Present tense.**Present tense.*

sing. { *When I am not kept,*
Wadchaneumuk.
When thou art not kept,
wadchanincomuk.
When he is not kept,
wadchanómuk.

{ The *Plural* is formed by
adding (Mat) unto the
form *Affirmative*.

The *Præter tense* is formed by adding [us or ás] to the *Present tense*.

The Indefinite Mode Passive Negative.

Wadchanóunát,

Not to be kept.

[p. 64.]

A TABLE of the Grammar of the *Suffix Verbs Aff-matical Addition* after the word, are set down: As in the *Indicative* and *Optative Modes*; The *Imperative* by the Suffix. Also note that (*I him*) and *Thou* the *Affix*; and (*Do thou him*) in the *Imperative* and what is prefixed or suffixed to the Radix is

Indicative Mode.

Imperative Mode.

*Present tense.**Præter tense.*

1 { 1 oush
2 *radic*
3 unumwōo
4 oog

1 { 1 unup
2 óp
3 unumwop
4 opanneg

1 { 1 unutti
2 onti
3 unonkqutch
4 onti

2 { 1 eh or ah
2 *radic.*
3 imun
4 oog

2 { 1 ip
2 op
3 imunónup
4 opanneg

2 { 1 eh
2 *radic.*
3 innean
4 *radic.*

3 { 1 uk
2 uk
3 oh or uh
4 ukqun
5 ukkou
6 oh or uh

3 { 1 ukup
2 ukup
3 opoh
4 ukqunónup
5 ukōwop
6 opoh

3 { 1 itch
2 ukqush
3 onch
4 ukqutteuh
5 ukook
6 onch

1 { 1 unumun
2 óun
3 unumun
4 óunónog

1 { 1 unumunónup
2 óunónup
3 unumunónup
4 óunónuppanneg

1 { 1 unuttuh
2 ontuh
3 unuttuh
4 ontuh

2 { 1 imwōo
2 au
3 imun
4 auoog

2 { 1 imwop
2 auop
3 imunónup
4 auopanneg

2 { 1 egk or ig
2 ók
3 innean
4 ók

3 { 1 ukquog
2 ukquog
3 ouh
4 ukqunonog
5 ukōoog
6 ouh

3 { 1 ukuppanneg
2 ukuppanneg
3 auopuh [neg
4 ukqunónuppan-
5 ukōópanneg
6 auopoh

3 { 1 ukqutteu or é-
2 ukqush[hettich
3 ahettich
4 ukqutteuh
5 ukook
6 ahettich

[p. 65.]

firmative wherein onely the *Suffixes*, viz. The Gram-
for the *Affix* or *Prefix*, you may observe it is used onely
and *Suppositive Modes*, lay it by, and are varied onely
him) in the *Indicative Mode*, is the *Radicall word* with
Mode is the *Radicall word* without any *Affix* or *Suffix* :
Grammar.

Optative Mode.

Suppositive Mode.

<i>Present tense.</i>		<i>Præter tense.</i>		<i>Present tense.</i>		<i>Præter tense.</i>	
1	{ 1 unon	1	{ 1 unuaz	1	{ 1 unon	1	{ 1 unos
	{ 2 on		{ 2 ónaz		{ 2 og		{ 2 ogkus
	{ 3 uneau		{ 3 ununnaóuz		{ 3 unog		{ 3 unogkus
	{ 4 óneau		{ 4 ónaóuz		{ 4 og		{ 4 ogkus
2	{ 1 in	2	{ 1 ineaz	2	{ 1 ean	2	{ 1 eas
	{ 2 on		{ 2 onaz		{ 2 adt or at		{ 2 as
	{ 3 unean		{ 3 uneanónuz		{ 3 eog		{ 3 egkus
	{ 4 óneau		{ 4 ónaóuz		{ 4 adt or at		{ 4 as
3	{ 1 ukqun	3	{ 1 ukqunaz	3	{ 1 it	3	{ 1 is
	{ 2 ukqun		{ 2 ukqunaz		{ 2 ukquean		{ 2 ukqueas
	{ 3 on		{ 3 onaz [nuz]		{ 3 ont		{ 3 os
	{ 4 ukqunán		{ 4 ukqunano-		{ 4 ukqueog		{ 4 ukqueogkus
	{ 5 ukquneau		{ 5 ukqunaóuz		{ 5 ukqueóg		{ 5 ukqueógkus
	{ 6 on		{ 6 onaouz		{ 6 ont		{ 6 os
1	{ 1 unan	1	{ 1 unanónuz	1	{ 1 unog	1	{ 1 unogkus
	{ 2 ónán		{ 2 ónanónuz		{ 2 ogkut		{ 2 ogkutus
	{ 3 unan		{ 3 unanónuz		{ 3 unog		{ 3 unogkus
	{ 4 ónán		{ 4 ónanonuz		{ 4 ogkut		{ 4 ogkutús
2	{ 1 uneau	2	{ 1 ineáóuz	2	{ 1 eóg	2	{ 1 eógkus
	{ 2 oneau		{ 2 ónaóuz		{ 2 óg		{ 2 ògkus
	{ 3 unean		{ 3 ineanonuz		{ 3 eóg		{ 3 eógkus
	{ 4 óneua		{ 4 ónaouz		{ 4 óg		{ 4 ogkus
3	{ 1 ukquneau	3	{ 1 ukqunaouz	3	{ 1 hettit	3	{ 1 ehettis
	{ 2 ukquneau		{ 2 ukqunaouz		{ 2 ukquean		{ 2 ukqueas
	{ 3 óneau		{ 3 ónaouz [uz]		{ 3 áhettit		{ 3 ahettis
	{ 4 ukqunán		{ 4 ukqunanon-		{ 4 ukqueog		{ 4 ukqueogkus
	{ 5 ukquneau		{ 5 ukqunaóuz		{ 5 ukqueóg		{ 5 ukqueóg
	{ 6 óneau		{ 6 ónaóuz		{ 6 ahettit		{ 6 ahettis

*Onely remember that (toh) is to
be annexed to every person
and variation in this Mode.*

[p 66.]

I HAVE now finished what I shall do at present : and in a word or two to satisfie the prudent Enquirer how I found out these new wayes of Grammar, which no other Learned Language (so far as I know) useth ; I thus inform him : God first put into my heart a compassion over their poor Souls, and a desire to teach them to know Christ, and to bring them into his Kingdome. Then presently I found out (by God's wise providence) a pregnant witted young man, who had been a Servant in an English house, who pretty well understood his own Language, and hath a clear pronounciation : Him I made my Interpreter. By his help I translated the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and many Texts of Scripture : Also I compiled both Exhortations and Prayers by his help. I diligently marked the difference of their Grammar from ours : When I found the way of them, I would pursue a word, a noun, a verb, through all variations I could think of. And thus I came at it. We must not sit still and look for miracles ; Up, and be doing, and the Lord will be with thee. Prayer and pains, through faith in Christ Jesus will do any thing. Nil tam difficile quod non—I do believe and hope that the Gospel shall be spread to all the ends of the Earth, and dark corners of the world by such a way, and that such Instruments as the Churches shall send forth for that end and purpose. Lord hasten those good days, and pour out that good Spirit upon thy people. Amen.

FINIS.

NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS ON ELIOT'S INDIAN GRAMMAR. ADDRESSED TO JOHN PICKERING, ESQ. BY PETER S. DU PONCEAU.*

THE great and good man, whose work has given rise to the following observations, did not foresee, when he wrote his Indian Grammar, that it would be sought after and studied by the learned of all nations, as a powerful help towards the improvement of a science not then in existence; I mean the *Comparative Science of Languages*, which of late has made such progress in our own country, as well as in *Europe* where our aboriginal idioms have become a subject of eager investigation. The *Augustine* of New England had no object in view, but that which he expresses in his title page,—“the help of such as desired to learn the Indian language for the furtherance of the Gospel among the natives.” But that worldly fame, which he did not seek, awaited him at the end of two centuries; and his works, though devoted to religion alone, have become important sources of human learning.

Religion and Science, well understood, are handmaids to each other. In no instance is this truth more evident than in the branch of knowledge of which we are treating. For it is to the unwearied and truly apostolick labours of Christian missionaries, and of societies instituted for the propagation of the Gospel among distant nations, that we are indebted for the immense materials which we already possess on the subject of the various languages of the earth. The Roman Congregation *De propagandâ fide*† gave the first impulse, which the zeal of the other Christian denominations has, in later times, not only followed but improved upon. The numerous translations of the sacred volume, which have been made under the patronage of the British, Russian, and American Bible Societies, into languages, many of which were till then unknown, except by their names, have afforded ample means of comparison between those various idioms; the value of which is

* These Remarks having been written at the suggestion of my learned friend, Mr. Pickering, I have thought it right to inscribe them to him as a just tribute of friendship and respect.
P. S. D.

† Many Grammars, Dictionaries, and Vocabularies of Asiatick, African and American languages, have been published under the direction of that Society, the only complete collection of which, perhaps, is in the Vatican or in their own library. As the science advances, they will no doubt be reprinted, as the present work is, for the benefit of the learned.

not yet so fully understood, as there can be no doubt it will be at a future day.

The object of this science is the study of man through that noble faculty, which distinguishes him from the rest of the animal creation; the faculty of "holding communication from soul to soul;" an earnest, as I might say, and a foretaste of the enjoyments of celestial life. It is a branch, and an important one, of the "history of the human mind;" a subject, to the study of which the Lockes, the Mallebranches, the Reids, the Stewarts, the Wolfs, the Leibnitzs and other distinguished men, whose names it is needless to mention here, have devoted their lives. The ignorant it is true, have said that "metaphysicks is vanity;" but the ignorant may jest as much as they will, they can never succeed in eradicating from the breast of immortal man

"This pleasing hope, this fond desire,
This longing after something unpossessed,"

which so powerfully impels him to search into every thing that may throw light on his physical and moral existence.

" 'Tis the Divinity that stirs within us"—

It makes us feel that our soul is immortal; and it is the agitation produced by this feeling, that makes us very naturally seek and love to dwell on the proofs of our glorious immortality. Hence the delight, which we take in the study of ourselves and of every thing that relates to us, and the efforts, which we make to carry our knowledge as far as the Almighty has permitted it to extend. He, who created the desire, well knows how to set bounds to our foolish inquiries; but, limited as it is, the whole circle, by which our knowledge is bounded, is still open to our researches; and we are yet very far from having reached its utmost verge.

God has revealed himself to mankind in two ways; by his sacred writings, and by the works of nature, constantly open before us; and it is the privilege as well as the duty of man to study both to the advancement of his glory. Therefore while the divine labours to discover the truths, which are concealed or rather veiled under the mysterious language of the former, the philosopher, irresistibly impelled by a similar desire, will interrogate the latter; and, with due submission, will view and compare all that can be grasped by his understanding and by his senses. Who knows but that, as this world advances towards its inevitable end,

it may have been decreed that the knowledge of man should go on increasing, until the blaze of eternal light should burst at once upon the whole race? But I find I have been involuntarily drawn into the regions of fancy; it is time to turn to the less fascinating topics which are the subject of these notes.

Yet before I proceed to the Language of the Massachusetts Indians, I may be permitted to shew what fruits have been derived from the pursuit of our science, since it has begun to be considered as an interesting object of study. What great advantage may be derived from it in the end,—whether it will enable us to solve the problem of the origin of the population of this continent, facilitate the formation of an universal oral or written language, or lead to some other discovery not yet thought of, though not less important than those that have been mentioned, is yet in the womb of futurity; nevertheless, it is certain, that the researches of modern philologists have brought to light many curious and interesting facts, of which our ancestors were entirely ignorant, and by means of which the science has acquired certain fixed points, from whence we may proceed with greater ease to further and more particular investigations.

By the labours of the illustrious Adelung, a census, as it were, has been taken of all the languages and dialects (that are known to us) existing on the surface of the earth. They have been all registered and enumerated, and it is now ascertained, as nearly as possible, that their aggregate numbers amount to 3064; of which Africa has 276, Europe 587, Asia 987, and America (the largest number of all) 1214, being more than Asia and Africa together, and nearly as many as the whole of the old continent, Africa excepted. It is true that in the interior, and, perhaps, even on the coast of the latter country, there are nations yet undiscovered, and whose languages, of course, are not known to us; and in the enumeration of *American* idioms it is easy to perceive, that the same tribes are sometimes registered more than once under different names; but when we consider, that there are also unknown Indian nations on our continent, we shall, by setting off these against those that are variously exhibited, have a tolerable approximation of their numbers and different idioms; and, upon the whole, this inquiry leads us to the almost certain conclusion, that all the languages and dialects of our globe, known and unknown, do not exceed the number of *four thousand*, but, on the contrary, the probability seems to be that they do not reach it.

It is ascertained, at least nothing has yet appeared to the contrary, that the languages of our American Indians are rich in words

and grammatical forms ; that they are adequate to the expression even of abstract ideas, and that they have a mode (different from our own) by which they can easily combine their radical sounds with each other so as to frame new words, whenever they stand in need of them. What is still more extraordinary, the model of those languages has been found to be the same from north to south, varieties being only observed in some of the details, which do not affect the similarity of the general system ; while on the Eastern continent languages are found, which in their grammatical organization have no relation whatever with each other. And yet our American idioms, except where they can be traced to a common stock, differ so much from each other in point of *etymology*, that no affinity whatever has been yet discovered between them. The philosopher, who considers this wonderful richness of forms in the languages of our Indians, will be apt to think, that it is the first stage of human speech ; that all languages have been thus complex in their origin, and have acquired simplicity in the progress of civilization ; but if he will only bestow a single look upon the oral language of the *Chinese*, he will find his system strongly shaken ; for it cannot be civilization, that made this most imperfect idiom what it is ; and not a single vestige remains in it to shew that it was ever a complex or even a polysyllabick language. On the contrary, it is to be presumed, that if the Chinese were to adopt an alphabetical mode of writing in lieu of their hieroglyphicks, their oral speech would be found insufficient at least for written communications, and the nation would be compelled to adopt new words and new grammatical forms. For their written characters represent no sounds to the ear, but only ideas to the mind ; the beauty of their poetry, as well as their prose, consists in the elegance of the associations of ideas presented to the mind through the *visual* sense ; and their communications through the *ear* serve only for the more common and coarser purposes of life. What affinity is there then between such a language and those of the Indians of America ; and how can they be said to be derived from each other ? This is an interesting problem, the solution of which yet remains to be discovered.

It has been, moreover, ascertained that one nation at least on the eastern continent of Asia, the *Sedentary Tschuktschi*, speak an *American* language ; a dialect of that, which begins in Greenland, crosses the American continent (on both coasts of which it is found among the people called Eskimaux,) is spoken at Norton Sound, and the mouth of the Anadir, and from thence northward, along the coast to the peninsula called *Tschutschkoi Noss*, or the pro-

montory of the *Tschutschki*. On the other hand, no nation has yet been discovered on this continent, that speaks an Asiatick language. The grammatical forms of the languages of the Koriaks, Lamouts, Kamtchadales, and other nations of the eastern coast of Asia, are not yet known to us ; and while we are taking pains to investigate the languages of our own country, it is much to be wished, that the learned men of the Russian empire would collect and communicate information respecting those of their Kamtchadale, Samoyed and Siberian tribes ; so that a full comparison might be established between them and those of our Indians.

It has been also ascertained, (and the discovery was first partially made by the great navigator Cook,) that from the peninsula of Malacca in Asia to the Cocos Island, a hundred leagues from the coast of Tierra Firme, and through the various clusters of islands in the South Sea, and also in the Island of Madagascar, dialects of the same language (the Malay) are spoken ; which, with other indications, has led an ingenious American writer, Dr. McCulloh of Baltimore, to suppose that the South Sea was once a continent, and that America was peopled through that channel.* This question deserves further investigation ; and the Malay, as well as its cognate languages, ought to be studied with that view. No traces of this language have been yet discovered on the coast of the American continent ; but they may appear on further research.

I should exceed the bounds which I have prescribed to myself, if I were to take notice of all the interesting facts, which the comparative science of languages has brought to light. Nor is this the proper place to do it. My task is that of an annotator of the venerable Eliot's Grammar of the (Massachusetts) Indian language ; and my object is to communicate, in aid of this valuable work, some of the most material facts and observations which several careful perusals of its contents, with collateral studies, have disclosed and suggested to me. Among those studies, I have not neglected that of his translation of the sacred writings, from which I have derived a greater insight into the nature, forms and construction of this curious language, than could be obtained from the Grammar alone ; for this is by no means so full as it might have been, if the illustrious author, impelled by his zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith, had not written it for immediate use, as introductory to the further instruction, which he was so well quali-

* Researches on America, being an attempt to settle some points relative to the Aborigines of America, &c. By James H. McCulloh, junr. M. D. Baltimore, Robinson, 1817. Octavo.

fied to give to those who stood in need of it. I have had no other view in writing these notes than to facilitate the labours of my fellow students, and shall be happy, if my efforts shall prove successful, though but in an inconsiderable degree.

There can be no doubt, that this language is a dialect of that widely extended idiom which was spoken, with more or less variation, by the Souriquois and Micmacs in Nova Scotia; the Etchemins, who inhabited what is now the State of Maine, the Massachusetts, Narragansets, and other various tribes of the Almouchiquois* in New England, the Knisteneaux, and Algonkins or Chipeways in Canada, the Mohicans in New York, the Lenni Lenape, or Delawares, Nanticokes and other nations of the same stock in Pennsylvania and Maryland, and lastly, by the Powhatans in Virginia; beyond which, to the *southward*, their race has not been discovered, but extended itself *westward*, under various names, such as Kickapoos, Potawatamies, Miamis or Twightwees, &c. to the great river Mississippi; on the other side of which the Sioux or Naudowessie, and the language of the Pawnees, (or Panis,) branching into various dialects, appear to predominate. On this side, this rich idiom of the Wapanachki, or Men of the East, and the Iroquois with its kindred languages, the Huron or Wyandot, and others, enjoyed exclusive sway; while to the southward, towards Louisiana and Florida, a number of idioms are found, which do not at all appear to be derived from each other, such as the Creek or Muskohgee, Chickasaw and Choctaw, Uchée, (yet unknown, but said to have a character peculiar to itself,) Atacapas, Chetimachas and others, among which no analogy is to be found by the comparison of their different vocabularies. The same phenomenon has been observed in the kingdom of Mexico; where several languages entirely different are crowded together on a small spot, while elsewhere as in Peru, Chili and Paraguay, some one or two master idioms extend their dominion in various dialects, like our Wapanachki and Iroquois, to a very great distance.† These remarkable facts will not escape the attention of the philosopher; but being foreign to my present subject, I have thought it sufficient merely to point them out to the observation of those who feel an interest in these disquisitions.

I shall not waste time in proving, by the analogy of words, the

* The French called the New England Indians by the general name of *Almouchiquois* or *Armouchiquois*, which name is to be seen in several of the ancient maps.

† The Aztek or Mexican proper, Othomi, Tarascan, Huastecan, &c.

strong affinity which exists between the Massachusetts and the Lenape, Algonkin and Mohican languages; of all which the former more or less partakes, not without a mixture of the Souriquois, Etchemin and other Nova Scotia dialects; it is sufficient to quote what my venerable friend, Mr. Heckewelder, wrote to me on the 8th of April, 1819.* "I once had," he says, "Eliot's Bible here for examination, and well understanding the Mohican language, I soon worked myself into the *Natick*, so that I could not only understand the one half of it at least, but became quite familiar with the language. There are certain letters in the words which are changed, as I have already somewhere mentioned to you." This change of letters is noticed by Eliot himself in his Grammar, page 2, where he instances the word *dog*, called *anum* by the Massachusetts proper, *alum* by the Nipmuk, and *arum* by the northern Indians. The Delawares say *allum*, the Algonkins *alim*, the Etchemins or Abenakis, (Indians of Penobscot and St. John's) *allomoos*, and the Miamis *lamah*.† The changes of the consonants *l*, *m*, *n*, and *r* for each other are very frequent in the various dialects of American languages. Thus the Delawares of New Sweden called themselves *Renni Renape*, instead of *Lenni Lenape*, making use of the *r* where the others have the *l*. These variations are very necessary to be attended to in the comparative study of our aboriginal idioms; other instances of them will appear in the course of these notes.

Notwithstanding the strong affinity, which exists between the Massachusetts and these various languages of the Algonkin or Lenape class, is too clear and too easy of proof to be seriously controverted, yet it is certain that a superficial observer might with great plausibility deny it altogether. He would only have to compare the translation of the Lord's prayer into the Massachusetts, as given by Eliot in his Bible, Matthew vi. 9, and Luke xi. 2, with that of Heckewelder into the Delaware from Matthew, in the Historical Transactions, vol. i. page 439, where he would not find two words in these two languages bearing the least affinity to each other. But this does not arise so much from the difference of the idioms, as from their richness, which afforded to the translators multitudes of words and modes of expressing the same ideas, from which to make a choice; and they happened not to hit upon the same forms of expression. Thus Eliot translates the words "*Our*

* The numerous letters and other communications, which I have received from Mr. Heckewelder on the subject of the Indian languages, will be considered at a future day as a most valuable and interesting collection. They are carefully preserved.

† See Barton's New Views, Comparative Vocab. Verbo *Dog*.

Father which art in heaven," by Nooshun Kesukqut, which literally means, "Our Father who art in the starry place, among the great luminaries of the sky," from the Delaware *Gischuch*, the sun, which the Narragansets called *Keesuckquand*, and adored it by that name;* whence Kesuck, or Keesuck, (or rather Keesukh with a guttural χ at the end,) by which these nations designated what we call the *sky* or the *heavens*, and also the *sun* and the *space of a day*. This NooshunKesukqut might easily have been rendered in the Delaware by *Nooch Gischuchink*, "Our father heaven or sun in," (the preposition *in* being expressed in the Massachusetts by the termination *ut* or *qut*, and in the Delaware by *ink*, as is usual in the Indian languages;) but Zeisberger and Heckewelder preferred substituting for the word *Nooch*, which is that by which children address their natural father, the more elegant word *Wetochemelenk*; and in turning to Mr. Heckewelder's Correspondence in the *Hist. Transactions*, p. 421, it will be found, that they had still a choice of other terms for the same word *father*; such is the wonderful richness of these *barbarous* languages. It may be remarked here, that even Eliot's own translations of the Lord's prayer, as given in Matthew and Luke, differ from each other more than the variations of the text require; as for instance, in the sentence "Give us this day (or day by day) our daily bread; in Matthew this is translated by *Nummeetsuongash asekesukokish*† *assamaiinean yeuyeu kesukod*, which literally means "Our victuals of every day give us *this this* (for energy's sake) day on, or *sun on*." And in Luke xi. 2, he translates it thus: *Assamaiinean kokokesukodae nutasesesukokke*‡ *petukqunneg*, by which the text is literally rendered, in the same order of words: "Give us day by day our daily bread." These observations I have thought it necessary to make, with the expectation that they may be useful to the student, in his comparative views of the Indian languages.

I ought to observe here also, that the language of Eliot's Grammar may, possibly, not be exactly the same with that of his trans-

* See Roger Williams' Key, Chap. xii, in 3 Mass. Hist. Col. p. 217.

† *Daily* or every day, every *sun*: from *kesuk*, sun, as above mentioned.

‡ I am inclined to believe, that there is here an error of the press, and that this word should have been printed *nuttasesesukokke*, from *kesuk*, day or sun, and the *t* should have been duplicated for the sake of the affixed pronoun *n*, so as to read *nut-ta* or *n'ta*, and not *nu-ta*, &c.

[Mr. Du Ponceau's conjecture is well founded. He uses the edition of 1680, which, although it is the revised one, is evidently incorrect in this instance. The edition of 1661 has the word as Mr. Du Ponceau here supposes it should be—*nuttasesesukokke*.]

lation of the Bible. There are some differences in the words, as well as in the forms of speech, which it is indispensable that the student should be aware of. For instance; in his Grammar, page 13, he gives the word *nequt*, (from the Delaware *n'gutti*,) to express the numeral *one*, whereas in his Bible he more commonly makes use of *pasuk*, from the Algonkin *pegik* and Chippeway *pashik*. Thus he says *pasuk cherub*, "*one cherub*." 2 Chron. iii. 11. *Pasuk ox, lamb, ram*. Numb. xxviii. 27, 28, 29. "*Pasukqunnuo weyauso*," *one flesh*. Gen. ii. 24. And so in other places. As I proceed in my observations upon his Grammar, I shall also shew some differences in the forms. Yet the two languages (if in fact he did employ more than one dialect) appear to be substantially the same.

This translation of the Bible by our venerable Eliot is a rich and valuable mine of Indian philology. A complete grammar and dictionary might, with labour and perseverance, be extracted from it; for there is hardly a mode or figure of speech, which is not to be found somewhere in the sacred writings. It has been of great use to me in the investigation of the character and structure of the American languages, and I hope to derive still further benefit from it. Every copy of it, that is yet extant, ought to be preserved with the greatest care, as it is hardly to be hoped that it will ever be entirely reprinted.

It is not, however, every attempt at translation into the Indian languages, that ought to be trusted to by the student. Indeed, it is but too true, that even simple vocabularies, when not made by persons, who have resided long among the Indians or who are extremely careful and judicious, are in general miserably deficient. Such is that of the language of the Delawares of New Sweden, published by Campanius Holm at Stockholm in 1696, with Luther's Catechism in Swedish and Indian; both of which (the vocabulary and the translation) are exceedingly faulty, and betray the grossest ignorance of the language. Mr. Heckewelder is of opinion, that the writer knew but little of it himself, and that he compiled his work with the aid of Indian traders, by whom he was constantly led into error. Some of his mistakes are truly ludicrous. He translates the words "*Gracious God*" by *Sweet Manitto*; but the word *vinckan*, (it should be *wingan*;) by which he attempts to express *sweet*, is one, which in the Delaware language, is only applied to eatables; so that the sense, which he conveys to an *Indian*, is that of *O sweet tasted Manitto!* Yet no language is richer in suitable appellations for the Deity. In the same manner, when he means to express the verb "*to love*" in a divine sense, he uses the word *tahottamen*, applicable only to the liking, which men have for perishable things, when he had *eholan*, from the substantive *ahol-*

lowagan, (*love*), which it is most probable he was unacquainted with. These observations were communicated to me by Mr. Heckewelder, with many others of the same kind; which, while they prove the ignorance of the writer of that book, afford additional evidence of the astonishing richness of our Indian languages, and of the multitude of words, by means of which they can discriminate between the most delicate shades of the same thought. The verb *to love* is still differently, but not improperly, expressed by our Eliot: "Womonook kummatwomooóg," *love one another*. *Matt. v. 44*. This word is derived from *wunnegen*, *good*; Delaware *wulichen*, it is good or well done. *Kah kusseh mo ahche wunnegen*, "And behold it was very good." *Gen. i. 31*. From the same root is the word *wunanum*, *bless*; *Wunanum Jehovah*, "Bless the Lord." *Ps. ciii. 1*. There appears to be no end to this rich variety.

I cannot help observing here, that the same richness, not only in terms applicable to *physical* subjects, but in *moral* and *metaphysical* terms, is to be found in the southern as well as in the northern languages. Thus in the Huastecan idiom (New Spain) we have

Canezomtaba, love, in a general sense.

Canezal, to love (in this sense.)

Lehnaxtalah, love with desire (*amor deseando*.)

Lehnal, to love, in this sense (*apetecer*.)

Cacnaxtabal, love with courtship (*amor cortesano*.)

Cacnal, to love, in this sense (*cortejar*.)

Cacnax, a lover, in this sense (*cortejo*.)

ZENTENO'S GRAMMAR, p. 51.

But it is time that I should have done with these general observations. I shall proceed now to remark more directly on the contents of the Grammar, which is the immediate subject of these notes.

I. Alphabet.

(Gram. p. 1.)*

It is much to be regretted, that the learned have not yet agreed upon some mode of communicating to the ear, through the eye, an uniform impression of the effects of the various sounds produced by the human organs of speech. The only

* The reader will observe, that this and the other references to the *Grammar* are made to the *original* paging of that work, which is preserved in the *margin* of the present edition.

way to obtain this desirable end, is for some person endowed with correct judgment and a nice, discriminating ear, to propose an alphabet, or table of signs, which, after a time, cannot fail (with perhaps some slight variations) to be generally adopted. My learned friend, Mr. Pickering, of Salem, in an excellent Essay, lately published in the fourth volume of the *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, has broken the ice and proposed an alphabet for our own Indian languages, which has the merit of great simplicity. It is understood, that its principles are to be followed in the publication of several vocabularies, that are to be inserted in the Journal of the late Expedition to the Westward under the command of Major Long, which is shortly to be put to the press by Mr. Nuttall; and there is no doubt that his example will be followed by others, particularly by missionaries, to whom the Essay has been transmitted by the missionary societies. If, as there is great reason to expect, Mr. Pickering's orthography gets into general use among us, America will have had the honour of taking the lead in procuring an important auxiliary to philological science.

It is universally admitted, that the alphabets of the principal European nations, which have been hitherto used to represent the sounds of our Indian languages, are inadequate to the purpose. The *English* is anomalous, and its powers not sufficiently determined. Its system of *vowels* is particularly defective. The *French* partakes of the same defects, though in a less degree; and in other respects is too often apt to mislead, because its consonants are generally unarticulated at the end of words. The *German* is more perfect than either; but German ears do not sufficiently discriminate between the hard and soft consonants, such as *b* and *p*, *g* hard and *k*, and *d* and *t*, by which considerable confusion is introduced. It will be recollected, that in Zeisberger's Vocabulary of the Delaware, the letter *g* is frequently used as *homophonous* with *k*, because, it is said, the printer had not a sufficient number of types to furnish the latter character as often as it was wanted. Notwithstanding this defect, however, it must be acknowledged that a better idea of the sounds of the Indian languages is given by means of the German alphabet than of any other.

Our author has, of course, made use of the *English* letters to express the sounds of the *Massachusetts* language; in consequence of which, it is sometimes difficult to recognize even the same words differently spelt by Zeisberger in the *Delaware*. Thus the latter writes *n'dee*, (*my heart*,) which is to be pronounced as if spelt *n'day*, according to the powers of the

English alphabet. Eliot, on the contrary, writes it *nuttah*. This makes it appear a different word, in which we scarcely perceive an analogy with the former. By the first syllable, *nut*, he means to express the sounds, which the *German* represents by *n'd* (perhaps *n't*, for the reason above suggested,) the short *u* standing for the interval, or sheva, between the two consonants; which Zeisberger more elegantly represents by an apostrophe. The last syllable, *tah*, is the *German* *dee* or *tee*, (*English* *day* or *tay*,) the *a* being pronounced acute, as in *grace*, *face*. If our author had selected the diphthong *ay* to express this sound, and reserved the *a* to represent its broad pronunciation in *far*, *car*, the student would have been much better able to perceive the analogy between the *Massachusetts* and its cognate idioms. But that was not his object; and it was enough for him that the mode of spelling, which he adopted, was sufficient for his purpose. Had he taken the other course, *n'dee* and *n'tay* would have been immediately recognized to be the same word; while *n'dee* and *nuttah* hardly shew any resemblance. It ought to be observed, that, although our venerable grammarian, in his alphabet, ascribes the acute pronunciation to the letter *a*, (except when it takes its short sound before a consonant,) and generally expresses the broad sound of that letter by *au*, yet there are many words, in which it has the open sound, especially when followed by *h*: But this can only be discovered by comparison with other languages, derived from the same stock.

The *whistled W*, of which he takes no notice, but which it is evident exists in the *Massachusetts*, as well as in the other *Wapanachki* idioms, he represents sometimes by *w* and sometimes also by short *u*, as in *uppaumaupoh*, "they did pay him," for *w'paumaupoh*. This is placed beyond a doubt by the circumstance of the personal pronouns affixed to the verbs; *n'* for the first person, *k'* for the second, and *w'* for the third; being the same in the *Delaware* and *Massachusetts* languages. Before a *vowel*, he employs the *w*, as in *wantamoooh*, "he is not wise;" and sometimes prefixes the *oo*, as in "*oowadchanumcoun*," *he does not keep it*. This *oo*, placed before the *w*, was probably meant to express the peculiarity of the *whistled* sound, by which he seems to have been not a little embarrassed. I believe he once meant to have represented this sound by *vf*, to which he ascribes a peculiar pronunciation, different from that of *v* in *save*, *have*. (See his alphabet, and his observations on the *v* consonant in his Grammar, page 2.) But he does not seem to have kept to his purpose; for I do not find the *vf* employed elsewhere, either in his Grammar or in his translation of the Bible and New Testament, but always either the *w*, the *oo* or the short *u* when followed by a consonant.

It is remarkable, that our author appropriates no character, or combination of characters, to express the guttural sound of the Greek χ , which is very frequent in these languages. This is a defect very common to Englishmen, who attempt to express Indian sounds by the letters of their alphabet. This sound, being entirely wanting in our language, is very often neglected and not at all noticed. In some vocabularies it is expressed by *gh*; but as these letters are almost always mute in proper English words, it is difficult to know when they are to be pronounced, or are merely used to lengthen the sound of the preceding vowel or diphthong.

The letter *q* is often employed by our author, without any other apparent power than that of *k*, as in "toohkequn," *heavy*, 1 *Samuel*, iv. 18; but he also uses it more properly as in English before *ua* and *uo*, as in *wuskesukquash*, "his eyes," and in *squontamut*, "the gate." *Ibid.* 15. 18.

Upon the whole, this alphabet, though not so perfect as it might be in the eyes of the scholar, appears, nevertheless, to have fully answered the pious purpose of the excellent author; for he tells us in his Grammar, page 4, that the Indians, by means of it, "soon apprehended and understood this Epitome of the Art of Spelling, and (by its means) COULD SOON LEARN TO READ."

II. Noun Substantive.

(Gram. p. 8.)

OUR author gives but little information on this subject; perhaps there is but little to be given. The genders, as in the Delaware, are not masculine and feminine, but animate and inanimate. Trees, plants, and grasses are in the class of *inanimates*; which is different from the Delaware, for in that they are classed as *animates*, except annual plants and grasses. 1 *Hist. Trans.* p. 367, 368.

Substantives are not varied by "Cases, Cadencies and Endings," except animates, when governed by a verb transitive, when they end in *oh*, *uh*, or *ah*. The genders are also distinguished by a difference of termination, but merely for the designation of the *plural number*. This termination is *og* in the animate, and *ash* in the inanimate form. In the Delaware, the animate has *ak*, and the inanimate *all* or *wall*. In the Narraganset, the plural endings are *ock*, *og*, *auock*, for the animate, and *ash*, *anash* for the inanimate. *Mithrid.* vol. iii. part iii. page 381.

We are not a little surprised, however, after the positive state-

ment of our author, that substantives are not distinguished by cases, (except as above mentioned,) to find different terminations of the same word, in various parts of his translation of the Bible, of which he makes no mention and gives no explanation in his Grammar: *Wuttaunoh Zion*, "Daughter of Zion." *Lament.* ii. 8. *Woi Jerusalemm wuttaunin*, "O daughter of Jerusalem." *Woi penomp Zione wuttaunin*, "O virgin daughter of Zion." *Ibid.* 13. *Wutâ-assuneutunk wuttanoh Zion*, "The wall of the daughter of Zion." *Lamentat.* ii. 8. *Woi kenaau Jerusaleme wuttauneunk*, "O ye daughters of Jerusalem." *Solom. Song*, ii. 7. *Kah ompetak wuttaneu*, "And she bare a daughter." *Gen.* xxx. 21.

The first of these terminations is correct; *nuttanoh*, *kuttanoh*, *wuttanoh*, "my, thy, his daughter," are the proper nominatives of this word; and its being used in the genitive in the passage cited (*the wall of the daughter of Zion*) does not militate against the rule laid down; but the termination *in* in the vocative singular, and *unk* in the vocative plural, cannot be accounted for, any more than *eu* in the accusative governed by an active verb. The proper plural ending of this word is the animate form *og*, which our author frequently employs. *Qushkeh wonk nuttaunog*, "Turn again, my daughters." *Ruth* i. 12. I am at a loss how to explain these variations, otherwise than by the conjecture offered before, that our author might have had recourse to different Indian dialects in translating the sacred writings. The Delaware has a vocative case, which generally ends in *an*: *Wo Kitanittowian!* O God; *Wo Nihillalan*, O Lord, &c. *Zeisberger's MS. Grammar.*

III. The Article.

It is remarkable, that this language appears to possess a definite article, although no mention is made of it in this Grammar. This article is *mo*, contracted from *monko*, and properly signifies *it*. *Kah MONKO nnih*, "And IT (was) so." *Gen.* i. 7, 9, 11. 24, 30. *Onk MO nnih*, "And IT (was) so." *Ibid.* 15. *Kah kussech mo ahche wunnegen*, "And behold IT (was) very good." *Ibid.* 31.

This pronoun when used as an article, is still further contracted into *m*, which, when followed by a consonant, Eliot connects with it by the English short *u*, according to his method, and sometimes by short *e*. Thus he writes *metah*, "the heart," which should be pronounced *m'tah*. It is evident, that the *m* stands here for an article, because the personal affixes *my*, *thy*, *his*, are *n*, *k*, and *w*; *nuttah* or *n'tah*, "my heart," *kuttah* or *k'tah*, "thy heart," *wuttah* or

w'tah, "his or her heart," and not *n'mettah*, *k'mettah*, *w'mettah*. In the translation of the Bible, this article frequently appears. *Kes-teah pakke* METAH, "Create in me a clean heart." *Psalm* li. 10. *Pohqui kah tannogki* METAH, "A broken and contrite heart." *Ibid.* 17. Several words are also found in his Grammar, in which this article is prefixed, though not noticed as such. *Mukquoshim*, (*m'-quoshim*,) a wolf, *muhhog*, (*m'hog*,) the body, &c. When the personal form is employed, the *m* is left out, and the pronominal affix substituted: *Yeu nuhhog*, "This is my body." *Matt.* xxvi. 36.

This article exists in several of the Indian languages, as in the Othomi, where it is expressed by *na*; *Nà hay*, the earth, *na metzé*, the ice, *na qhi*, the blood, &c.—(See *Molina*.) It appears also in the Algonkin and its cognate idioms: *Mittick*, *meeteek*, (Algonk. and Chippew.) a tree; Delaware, *hittuck*, and I think also *m'hittuck*; Mahican, *metooque*; Shawanese, *meticqueh*; all which appear to be the same word.—*Barton's New Views*, verbo *wood*. So also the Mahican, *mooquaumeh*, ice, (Barton;) Shawanese, *m'quama*, (Johnston;) Potawatameh, *mucquam*, (Barton;) Delaware, *m'hockquam-mi*, (Heckewelder,) and *moseet*, which in the language of the Indians of Penobscot and St. John's, means *the foot*, (Barton,) and is clearly the Delaware *n'seet*, *k'seet*, *w'seet*, (my, thy, his foot,) which Mr. Heckewelder writes *n'sit*, &c., but observes that the *i* is long.*

*Since writing the above notes, I have received an answer to a letter, which I addressed to Mr. Heckewelder on the subject of the *definite article*, a part of speech, which had not been noticed by grammarians in the Indian languages; and I have now the satisfaction to find, that the opinions above expressed were well founded. The letter also corroborates some of my etymological statements; and, as it is short, I have thought it best to insert it entire:

"Bethlehem, 23d August, 1821.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I HAVE this moment received your favour of the 21st, and having time left sufficient to answer thereto, before the closing of the mail, I comply with your request. The article "*mo*" for *a* or *the*, which you discovered to be prefixed to substantives in the language of the Naticks, is *the same* in the language of the *Lenape*. We frequently leave the letter *m* out, in writing as the word is well understood without it, and because a reader, not acquainted with the language, might pronounce it too *harsh*, as *em*, or *emdee*, for *the heart*. So it is with other words also, as for instance, in those you quote. The *Lenape* say, *m'hittuck*, the tree, or *a tree*. The *Minsi* say, *michtuk*, *a tree*; also, *m'tachan*, wood; the *Minsi* say, *Machtachan*; yet both *hittuk* and *tachan* answer the same purpose.

"With regard to the latter part of your letter, I can only repeat what I have in former letters already noticed, viz. that in the Mahicani and other eastern

IV. *Adjectives.*

(Gram. p. 13.)

ADJECTIVES are seldom used singly in the Indian languages, because they are easily compounded with the verb and other parts of speech; with the *verb* as in the Latin *sapio*, *frigeo*, &c. and with the *substantive* in a variety of ways, which will be best explained by examples. I lately sent to Mr. Heckewelder the Empress Catharine's Vocabulary, in the German language, requesting him to fill it up with the same words in the Delaware. He very kindly complied with my request, but left some blanks in the Indian part, for which he referred me to notes, (also written in German,) which accompanied it. Among the words thus left blank, were the adjectives OLD and YOUNG, which he said he could not express by terms *sufficiently general*. The notes on these two words have appeared to me so interesting, and so well calculated to shew the peculiar construction of the Indian languages, that I have thought the reader would not be displeased to have a translation of them. I shall, therefore, fill up the present article with the valuable information which they contain.

“Notes on the word OLD.

“On this I have to observe, that there are many words which it is difficult, and some even impossible to render by terms, which convey precisely the same general idea; the Indians being so very nice in their discriminations, and having words adapted to every shade which they wish to distinguish. They are particularly attentive to distinguishing between what is animate and what is inanimate. Sometimes, also, there are words which have a double meaning. I will give some examples.

idioms, (the Natick, &c.) the changing of certain letters in words, and the dropping here and there a letter at the end of a word, from that of the mother tongue, (the Lenape,) causes a difference in the writing and speaking, but not in understanding the same, by any person who can speak, or understand the Lenape. Examples: The Lenape say, *n'dellan*; the Mahicani *n'tennan*, changing the letter *l* into the letter *n*. The mail being about to close, I conclude in haste. I shall write to you further very soon.

JOHN HECKEWELDER.”

“The word *old* is employed by us in the most general sense. We say in our languages, *an old man, an old horse, an old dog, an old house, an old basket, &c.* The Indians, on the contrary, vary their expressions, when speaking of a thing that has life, and of one that has not; for the latter, instead of the word *old*, they use terms which convey the idea, that the thing *has lasted long*, that it *has been used, worn out, &c.* Of all which take the following examples :

1. *Kikey*, old, advanced in years (applied to things *animate*.)
2. *Chowiey*, or *chowiye*y, old by use, wearing, &c.

“*Note.* The first syllable in the word *kikey*, compounded with other syllables, conveys the idea of *parents*, (Lat. *majores*; Germ. *eltern*.) and in brutes is expressive of the stock or race, from which they proceed :

“*Compounds.*

Kikey, or *kikeyin* (*i* long,) to be old, advanced in years.

Kikeyitschik, old, elderly people.

Kikeyilenno, on old man, advanced in years.

Kikeyóchqueu, an old, elderly woman.

Kikéchum, the old one of the *brute* kind.

Kikéhelleu, the old ones of the *feathered* tribe.

“There are also *suffixes*, denoting the age of animated beings, which are worthy of remark; as

Mihillúsis, an old man, (Germ. *ein alter Greis*; Fr. *un vieillard, un barbon*.)

Chauchschísis, an old woman, (Germ. *altes mütterchen*; Fr. *vieille bonne femme*.)

Mihillüschum, an old male *quadruped*.

Chauchscháchum, an old female *quadruped*.

“The general words for things *inanimate* are,

Chowiey, or *chowiye*y, (Minsi, *m'chowiey*.) old.

Chowigáwan, an old house, (from *wikwam*, or *wigwam*.)

Chohagihácan, an old field, (from *hacki*, earth or land.)

Choutaney, an old town, (from *utaney*, or *uteney*, a town.)

Chowáxen, old shoes, (from *maxen*, mockasons, or shoes.)

Chowásquall, old grass, (from *maskik*, grass.)

Chowiey, *schákhóqu*i, old coat, old garment.

“There are other words, which denote a thing being old from use or wearing; as

Metchihillēu, old; worn out, (as an edged tool.)

Pigihillēu, torn by long use or wearing.

Lóghillēu, fallen to pieces, &c.

“Notes on the word YOUNG.

“It is here again difficult to find an adequate general term, as the Indians are always fond of discriminating, and using words peculiarly applicable to the thing spoken of. As we say, ‘a new born child or infant,’ instead of ‘a young child,’ so in Delaware, the word *wuski*, which signifies *new*, is employed to convey the idea of youth; and they compound it in the following manner:

Wuski, new, young, (Minsi *wuskiey*.)

Wusken, *wēsgink*, the new.

Wuskilenno, a young man.

Wuskóchquēu, or *wuskiechquēu*, a young woman.

Wuskelenápewak, young people.

Wuskehūm, a young quadruped.

Wuskigáwan, a new house.

Wuskhagihácan, a new field.

Wuskutæney, a new town.

Wuskhaxen, new shoes.

Wuskiquall, new grass.

Wuskachpoan, new bread, (*achpoan*, bread.)

Wuskitamen, to renew something, &c.

“Although the syllable *wusk*, prefixed to words, serves both to denote *young* and *new*, yet the Indians have, besides, a variety of other words for distinguishing the young among *animals*. For instance; their general term for ‘the young,’ the immediate offspring, is *nitschān*, (*w’nitschānall*, his or her young or offspring, who have been brought alive and suckled,) and this applies to man, and beasts of the genus *Mammalia*; but when they speak of the *feathered* kind, or when the young is produced from the egg by hatching, they say, *anīnschihillēu*; plural *anīnschihilleisak*; barely implying that the animals are *young feathered creatures*. See *Zeisberger’s Delaware Spelling Book*, p. 100.”

V. *Pronouns.*

(Gram. p. 7.)

THE personal pronouns in the Massachusetts, as in the Delaware language, are divided into separable and inseparable; and their etymology may be clearly traced to the same source. They are in the two languages as follows:

MASSACHUSETTS.		DELAWARE.
I,	<i>Neen.</i>	<i>Ni.</i>
Thou,	<i>Ken.</i>	<i>Ki.</i>
He or she,	<i>Noh, or nagum.</i>	<i>Nacama, or neka.</i>
We,	<i>Neenawun, or kenawun.</i>	<i>Niluna, or kiluna.</i>
Ye,	<i>Kenaau.</i>	<i>Kiluwa.</i>
They,	<i>Nahoh, or nagoh.</i>	<i>Necamawa.</i>

The *inseparable* pronouns, personal and possessive, are the same in both languages; *n* representing the first person, *k* the second, and *w*, *o*, or *oo*, (as euphony may require,) the third, both in the singular and plural numbers.

The *particular plural* of the *Delawares*, or the *American* plural, as Mr. *Pickering* very properly calls it, has excited much attention among philologists. Our author makes no mention of this distinction; yet there is great reason to believe, that it exists in the *Massachusetts* idiom. In the Delaware, the particular plural, though not mentioned in Mr. *Zeisberger's* Grammar, is expressed by *niluna*, which means *we, some of us*, with relation to a particular number of persons. It is to be observed, that it begins with the letter *n*, indicative of the *first* person; which, being repeated in the last syllable *na*, seems as if it meant to say, *we, we*; that is, *we*, particularly speaking, but not all; whereas the *general* plural, *kiluna*, (*we, all of us*), begins with the pronominal affix of the *second* person, as if to say, *we and you*, or *we, you and all*. The same difference is found in the *Massachusetts*, where *we* is expressed in two modes, *neenawun* and *kenawun*; the one in the same manner beginning with the affix of the *first* person, afterwards repeated, and the other with that of the *second* person; from whence, and the great affinity of the two languages, I strongly conjecture, that *NEENAWUN* means the particular, and *KENAWUN* the general plural. This might, I dare say, be ascertained by searching for examples in our author's translation of the Bible; but these notes having been called for sooner than I expected, I

have not time at present for the investigation. If the rules of analogy are not deceptive, it will be found, I believe, that I am right in my conjecture.

(Our author does not speak of a *dual* number ; nor is it probable there is any, other than the *particular plural*.

The question whether all the Indian languages have the *particular plural*, or some of them the *dual* in lieu of it, is an interesting one. I at first inclined to the former opinion ; but recent inquiries make the latter seem the most probable. In one of them, at least, (the *Cherokee*,) it appears that there is a *dual* number. Mr. *Pickering*, in consequence of the general remarks on this subject, in the *Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee*, was led to conjecture, that what had been called the *dual* in the Cherokee, was in fact only the *particular* or *limited plural*, which is common to other Indian dialects. But he has since informed me, that upon conversing on this point with an intelligent young man of that nation, (who is perfectly familiar with our own language, (he has ascertained that this opinion was unfounded, and that the Cherokee language has a proper *dual number*, like the languages of antiquity. There are varieties in the polysynthetick forms of the Indian languages, which do not, however, affect their general character. Absolute uniformity is not to be found in any of the works of nature ; and there is no reason why languages should be excepted from this universal rule.

The interrogative pronoun, as our author denominates it, *howan*, plural *howanig*, (*who*,) is also found in the Lenni Lenape. Zeisberger and Heckewelder spell it *auwen*, which, according to the German pronunciation, gives the same sound, except the *h* at the beginning. This pronoun, in the Delaware, is formed into a verb in the following curious manner, which I extract from Zeisberger's MS. Grammar :

From AUWEN, who

Singular. *Ewenikia*, who I am.

Ewenikian, who thou art.

Ewenikit, who he is.

Plural. *Ewenikiyenk*, who we are.

Ewenikiyek, who you are.

Ewenikichtit, who they are.

It is worthy of remark, that this nation, whose language (as I shall hereafter have occasion to observe) wants the substantive verb, *I am*, has come so near it, as in these examples, without

being able to find it. It is said that they cannot translate into it the sublime sentence in Exodus iii. 14, I AM THAT I AM. This pronominal verb would, it seems, admirably express the last member of it, at least in the sense of the Vulgate translation *Ego sum QUI SUM*. These are anomalies, which further study and inquiry may, perhaps, enable us to reconcile.

The demonstrative pronoun *yeu* is in Delaware *yun*; and, upon the whole, there is a great resemblance, in this part of speech, between the two languages. But neither *Eliot* nor *Zeisberger* have expatiated sufficiently upon it. Indeed, these languages are so rich in forms, that a complete grammar of any of them would be too voluminous for common use.

VI. Verbs.

(Gram. p. 15.)

THE Verb is the triumph of human language. Its fundamental idea is that of existence; *I am, sum*. This abstract sentiment receives shape and body from its combination with the various modifications of being, by action, passion and situation, or manner of existing; *I am loving, loved, sleeping, awake, sorry, sick*; which the Latin tongue more synthetically expresses by *amo, amor, dormio, vigilo, contristor, ægroto*. Next come the accessory circumstances of person, number, time, and the relations of its periods to each other; *I am, thou art, we are, I was, I shall be, I had been, I shall have been*. Here the Latin again combines these various ideas in one word with the former ones; *sum, es, sumus, eram, ero, fueram, fuero*. Sometimes it goes further and combines the negative idea in the same locution, as in *nolo*; this, however, happens but rarely; and here seem to end the verbal powers of this idiom. Not so with those of the *Indian* nations. While the Latin combines but few adjectives under its verbal forms, the Indians subject this whole class of words to the same process, and every possible mode of existence becomes the subject of a verb. The *gender* or *genus*, (not, as with us, a mere division of the human species by their sex, but of the whole creation by the obvious distinction of animate and inanimate,) enters also into the composition of this part of speech; and the object of the active or transitive verb is combined with it by means of those forms, which the Spanish-Mexican grammarians have called *transitions*, by which

one single word designates the person who acts, and that which is acted upon. The *substantive* is incorporated with the verb in a similar manner: thus in the Delaware, *n'matschi*, "I am going to the house, I am going home;" *nihillapewi*, "I am my own master, I am free;" *tpisquihilleu*, "the time approaches," (*properat hora*.) The *adverb* likewise: *nachpiki*, "I am so naturally;" *nipahwi*, "to travel by night;" (*noctanter*;) *pach-senunnen*, "to divide (something) equally," &c. In short, every part of speech in these languages is capable of being associated with the verb and compounded with it, by means of its various inflexions and forms. What shall we say of the reflected, compulsive, meditative, communicative, reverential, frequentative and other circumstantial verbs, which are found in the idioms of New Spain, and other American Indian languages? The mind is lost in the contemplation of the multitude of ideas thus expressed at once by means of a single word, varied through moods, tenses, persons, affirmation, negation, transitions, &c. by regular forms and cadences, in which the strictest analogy is preserved! Philosophers may, if they please, find here proofs of what they have thought proper to call *barbarism*; for my part, I am free to say, that I cannot so easily despise what I feel myself irresistibly compelled to admire.

It is to be regretted, that our venerable author has given but few Paradigms of the conjugations of the verbs in the Massachusetts language. There are, in fact, in this Grammar, but three—the active verbs *to keep* and *to pay*, and the neuter verb *to be wise*; the two first of which are conjugated through their negative and transitive forms, and the latter only in the affirmative and negative. He makes us acquainted with the interrogative mood, and prescribes the form of conjugating verbs through it; but, beyond that, the information which he gives, on the subject of this part of speech, is very scanty; while Zeisberger, on the contrary, in his MS. Grammar, has given us a profusion of the *Delaware* verbs, regularly conjugated, which will be found to afford much assistance to the student, and give him a great insight into the manner of compounding and conjugating verbs in these languages.

Whether there are any, or how many, different forms of conjugation in this language, does not appear. In the *Delaware* there are eight, distinguished by the terminations of their infinitive, or of the first person of the present tense of the indicative mood. Zeisberger enumerates them as follows:

- The 1st ending in *in* ; n'dappin, *to be there*.
 The 2d in *a* ; n'da, *I am going*.
 The 3d in *elandam* indicates a dispo- }
 sition of the mind ; } niwelendam, *I am sad*.
 The 4th in *men* ; gattamen, *I request*.
 The 5th in *an* ; ahoalan, *to love*.
 The 6th in *e* or *we* ; n'dellowe, *I say*.
 The 7th in *in*, but used only in the }
 transitive forms ; } miltin, *to give*.
 The 8th in *on* ; n'peton, *I bring*.

The moods and tenses of these two languages appear to be the same, though differently classed by their grammarians. Eliot divides the subjunctive mood into two, the optative and suppositive, each having but one tense, which Zeisberger calls the present and conditional tenses of the conjunctive. Our author takes no notice of the *participles*, which the other includes under the infinitive mood. They are numerous, and susceptible of various transitions and forms. Thus the verb *gauwin*, "to sleep," besides having three tenses in the infinitive, to wit, the present *gauwin*, the past or preterite, *gauwineep*, "to have slept," and the future, *gauwintschi*, which cannot be rendered into English, but in Latin *dormiturus esse*, has the following participles: present, *gewit*, "sleeping;" (plural, *gewitschik*) preterite, *gewitup*, "having slept;" plural, *gewitpannik*. The future is given in other verbs. Examples of the conjugation of the participle of the causative verb, through the transitive forms, are given in the *Historical Transactions*, vol. i. p. 416, which I think unnecessary to repeat here. I have no doubt that these forms substantially exist in the Massachusetts idioms; but our author's Grammar is by far too much abridged to admit of their being exhibited.

The formation of the *future* tense of the indicative mood is different in the Massachusetts and Delaware languages. In the former, it is expressed by the auxiliaries *mos* and *pish*; as, *kah pish kuttâyim*, "and thou shalt make;" *kah pish neemunumwog gold*, "and they shall take gold;" *kah pish kupponamunash*, "and thou shalt put." *Exod.* xxviii. 2, 5, 12. In the Delaware, the future is designated by the termination *tsch*; as in *n'poms*, "I go;" future, *n'pomsitsch*, "I shall or will go." In the negative form, this termination is sometimes attached to the conjunction *not*; as *mattatsch n'dawi*, "I shall not go," for *matta n'dawitsch*. This is one of the elegancies of the language; very different, however, from any thing that we have seen or heard of in the idioms of the old world.

We must not expect, in these languages, to find any thing like the Greek aorists, or those nice distinctions of time and its different periods in relation to each other, which are found in the learned tongues. The varieties of the Indian verbs are applied to other objects. I do not mean to speak, however, of the *Mexican* languages, in which the verbs are conjugated through all the forms, moods and tenses of the Latin. There you find the imperfect, preterite, pluperfect and even the gerunds in *di*, *do*, *dum*, and the supine.* I have observed elsewhere, that those who write Indian grammars strive too much to assimilate the forms of those languages to their own or to the Latin, whereas they have a grammar peculiar to themselves, which ought to be studied and explained. The curious and not very natural coincidence, which the Spanish grammarians have almost generally found between the Latin forms and those of the languages of their Indians, inclines me to suspect the accuracy of those writers. It is, nevertheless, evident, that the *southern* idioms have more tenses in their verbs, or forms of conjugation in relation to time, than those of the more *northern* tribes; in which latter I have only, as yet, been able to discover the present, past and future.

I observed, in my Report to the Historical Committee on the subject of the Indian languages, (*Hist. Trans.* p. xl.) that it appeared to me, that they were generally destitute of the auxiliary verbs *to be* and *to have*; which I shewed to be the case not only in our own northern, but in the Mexican and Othomi idioms. I added, on the authority of Father Zenteno, that the Mexicans could not translate into their language the sublime sentence, "I AM THAT I AM." *Exod.* iii. 14. In this sentiment I am confirmed, at least as far as concerns the *Wapanachki* languages, by our venerable author, who expressly says, in page 15 of his Grammar, "We" (the Massachusetts) "have no *complete distinct word* for the *Verb Substantive*, as other, learned *Languages*, and our *English Tongue* have; but it is under a *regular composition*, whereby many words are made *Verb Substantive*."

This curious fact early attracted the notice of the Honourable Judge Davis, of Boston, who, in a letter to me of the 26th of

* In Basalencque's Tarascan Grammar, pages 33 and 34, under the verb *pani*, "to carry," (*llevar*,) are the following paradigms:

Gerund in *di*, Pàquaro ésti—*tiempo de llevar*.

—— in *do*, Pàparin—*llevanda*.

—— in *dum*, Pàni-nirâhaca—*voy à llevar*.

Supine in *um*, Hichen himbò éscâ pàni—*à me me combiene llevar*.

—— in *u*, Pàquanhâxeti—*cosa digna de ser llevada*.

March, 1819, suggested some doubts upon the subject; and this circumstance led to a correspondence with the Rev. Mr. Heckewelder and the Rev. Mr. Dencke, which I think sufficiently interesting to warrant the insertion of some extracts from their communications in this place.

I shall extract, in the first place, from Judge Davis's letter, who wrote as follows:

"At present I will only suggest a difficulty, which occurs in relation to a remark in page xl. of your *Report* concerning the substantive verb *to be*, in the American languages. I have a manuscript Vocabulary of the language of the Southern or Old Colony Indians of Massachusetts, (compiled by *Josiah Cotton, Esq.* missionary to those Indians early in the last century,) in which the verbs *to be* and *to have* are expressed in a variety of modifications. I have only room for the infinitive moods of these verbs, and the indicative mood, present tense, with numbers and persons:

‘ AINNEAT, to be.

‘ *Nennont*, I am.

Kennont, thou art.

Nohne, he is.

Nenauunyeu, we are.*

Kenauna, you are.

Nágina, they are.

‘ AHTOUNNAT, to have.

‘ *Nummahche*, I have.

Kummahche, thou hast.

Noh mahche, he has.

Nenauun nummahche, we have.

Kenau kummahche, you have.

Nag mahche, they have.’

"In Eliot's Bible, the sublime passage (Exod. iii. 14.) *I am that I am*, is thus translated: *Nen nuttinniin nen nuttinniin*. Galatians iv. 12, *I am as ye are*, is thus rendered: *Nen neyane kenaau*. How is the first of these expressions to be grammatically resolved, if there be no *substantive verb* in the language? The last quotation is elliptical in the Greek $\alpha\gamma\omega\iota\ \omega\varsigma\ \epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota\varsigma$; and so it is in the Indian, which, literally, would be, *I as you*. *Nen* I take to be a pronoun, and so is *kenaau*.....I find, in A. Fabre's Grammar of the Chili Language, the following sentence: ‘*Los nombres abstractos, como bondad, blancura, &c. se hacen posponiendo el verbo sum, es, est, à los adjetivos ó sub-*

* The original MS. of Cotton has here *Kenauun yeu*; which, agreeably to Mr. Du Ponceau's opinion, (in his remarks on the Pronouns,) was the general plural; *nenauun yeu* being the particular or limited plural.—EDITOR.

stantivos.'—Molina, I believe, has a similar remark; but the doctrine is not so distinctly announced as by *Fabres*, to whom *Molina* appears to have been principally indebted for his observations on the language of *Chili*.—*Jean de Laet* also gives us the substantive verb in the *Brazilian* language; aico, *je suis*, ereico, *tu es*, oico, *il est* oroico, *nous sommes*, peico, *vous estes*, auraè oico, *ils sont*. In the third person plural, only, the pronoun is prefixed; whereas, in the example from Cotton's MS. (whose Vocabulary, I find, has generally a close correspondence with the *Natick*,) we notice the pronouns throughout. On this subject of the *substantive verb*, and especially of its application in the admirable language of *Chili*, I had some floating ideas, which I had digested into a sort of theory. Schemes of thought are not always readily abandoned; but I find mine not a little disturbed by the remark in that part of your discussion. I may hereafter communicate to you the views to which I refer." Judge Davis adds, in a Postscript to his letter, the following remark: "Eliot often expresses *I am* by the word *nen* alone; but is it not because the phrase is often elliptical in the Greek? In John viii. 58, 'Before Abraham was I AM' is thus rendered: *Negonne onk Abrahamwi nutāpip*. The expression there is not elliptical in the original; the word *nutāpip* I consider as corresponding to *ἐγώ εἰμι*, though I am not able to trace its origin."

This doubt, suggested from so respectable a quarter, and supported, besides, with so much learning and ingenuity, made me distrust my own opinion, and led me to inquire further into the matter. Still I could not help believing, as I am yet inclined to think, that the want of the substantive verb was a general rule in the Indian languages. I knew too well the inclination of grammarians to assimilate those idioms to their own, to be shaken by paradigms, in which the verb *sto*, for instance, might be translated by *sum* or *I am*, for want of sufficient attention to the shade of difference between them; but the words *Nen nuttiniin nen nuttiniin*, by which our author had rendered *I am that I am* in his translation of the Bible, though they might not have the precise meaning of the original text, must yet mean something; and I was curious to know by what analogous mode of expression the venerable apostle had got out of this immense difficulty, when he himself had told his readers, that there was "*no compleat distinct word for the Verb Substantive*" in the language.* I therefore determined to consult my oracle, Mr. Heckewelder, from whom I speedily re-

* Grammar, p. 15.

ceived an answer, of which I shall here communicate some extracts:

"8th April, 1819.

"I cannot believe, that any of the tribes connected with the *Lenni Lenape* can translate into their language the words *I am that I am*, so as to come up to the same meaning. The late David Zeisberger and myself sought many years in vain for this substantive verb. We had the best chapel interpreters, I may say orators, some of whom were not at a loss to interpret critically almost all scripture passages and expressions; yet with regard to the one in question, they never came up to the meaning, but made use of the best substitute they could; for instance: *I abtschi gutteli n'dellsin*, 'I always act the same;' *elsia natsch abtschi n'dellsin*, 'so as I do, I shall always do,' or 'I shall always act the same;' or again, *elinaxia abtschitsch n'dellinaxin*, 'as I appear, (am to appearance,) I shall always be.' I cannot find a single instance in the language, in which the verb *I am* is used by itself, that is to say, uncombined with the idea of the act about to be done."

"You have, no doubt, observed, in my *Historical Account*, page 232, that the Indian striking his breast, says with conscious pride, *I AM A MAN*. This he expressess by the words *Lenno n'hackey*; literally, *my body is a man* (or, 'I am a man body,' in the sense that we say, *She is a clever body, a young, a handsome body*.) I might then translate 'I am that I am,' by *n'hackey iabtschi n'hackey*, 'my body (is) always my body.'—This word *n'hackey*, with the Indians, is a most expressive word. In the Indian song, of which I have given a translation, (*Hist. Trans.* p. 204,) the sentence at the beginning, *O poor me!* is expressed in Indian by *Wo gettemaki n'hackey!* 'O poor my body!' &c.

"All I can say, at present, of Eliot's translation of 'I am that I am' by *Nen nutinniin nen nuttiniin* is, that it can never be a literal translation of the text. The passage in Galatians iv. 12, 'I am as ye are, which Eliot translates by *Nen neyane kenaau*, I presume means, 'I look like you, we are alike, or we look like one another.' I suppose a Delaware translator would say, *Elinaxiyek, nepe n'delinaxin*; that is, 'as ye are, so I am also;' but this is always said in the sense of personal appearance, shape, face, countenance, size, &c. He might have said, also, *n'gutti ktellinaxihhena*, 'we look alike,' 'we look one,' or, *n'gutteli k'delsihhena*, 'we do, act, alike;' or, lastly, *ni n'dellsin elsiyek*, 'I do as ye do,' &c."

In the same letter Mr. Heckewelder enclosed to me a copy of one he had received from the Rev. Mr. *Dencke*, of Lititz, to whom he had written on the same subject. I trust I shall be excused for translating here some extracts from this letter also, which is written in German :

"I have never known," says Mr. *Dencke*, "the verb *to be* to exist, either in the Delaware or Chippeway language, and I can find nothing in those idioms that expresses it literally. The nearest to it is (in the Delaware) *ni n'dellsin elsia*, 'as I do.' The pronoun *ni* is duplicated to strengthen the expression of the idea of the first person of the verb ; *elsia* is contracted from *elgiqui*, 'as,' and *lissia*, 'as I do,' (*da ich thue*.) Out of this pronoun *ni*, or *nen*, perhaps, a new verb might be framed, which, I am inclined to think, Mr. Eliot has done in the Natick. This was easy to be done ; but such a word is *not genuine Indian*. I have been, in vain, trying to understand the meaning of *Nen nuttinniin nen nuttinniin*, which appears to be the same sentence twice repeated, but have not been able to succeed——."

"*Ni n'delinaxin elinaxia*, 'as I appear so I am,' (*Ich bin dem so gleich, so wie ich bin*.) But this is not answering Mr. Du Ponteau's question. I should probably express 'I am as ye are,' by *Ni n'dellsin elsiyeek* ; and I do not think that there is any thing that comes nearer to it.

"I think we must remain where we are ; agreeing, however, upon this point, that in the Indian languages that we are acquainted with, '*I am that I am*' cannot be literally expressed, but a substitute must be employed," &c.

In a Postscript, which follows the copy of Mr. *Dencke*'s letter, Mr. Heckewelder concludes, that if *Nen nuttinniin nen nuttinniin* means any thing, it must be either "I am a man, I am a man," or, "I do so, I do so."

After much consideration and study of the subject, I incline much to the opinion, that Mr. Heckewelder is right in his last conjecture ; and, as it appears to be full time to put an end to these Notes, and the remaining parts of speech suggest no interesting observations, I shall conclude with stating the grounds upon which this conjecture is founded.

It appears to me, in the first place, that the Massachusetts verb *nuttinniin* is the same with the Delaware verb *n'dellsin*, 'I do or act,' which the Germans not unfrequently spell *n'tellsin*, confounding the *t* with the *d*, because their ears do not sufficiently distinguish between the two sounds. Now the first syllable of *nuttinniin*, 'nut,' in which the short *u* is employed to express the interval or *sheva* between the two consonants, is the same with the Delaware *n'd* or *n't* ; the middle syllable *tin* is the Dela-

ware *tel* or *del*, changing *e* into *i* and *l* into *n*; *in* is the termination of the verbal form in the Massachusetts, which in this word is the same as in the Delaware; and *nen* is the duplication of the personal pronoun, for the sake of greater energy, as Mr. Dencke has very properly observed.

This etymological deduction would not prove much, without shewing that the verb *nuttinniin* means "to do or act" in the Massachusetts, as *n'dellsin* does in the Delaware. This, I think, can be done by recurring to examples in our author's translation of the Bible. For instance: *To kittinheh*, "What is it that thou has done unto me?" *Gen.* xii. 8. *To* means "what;" *kittinheh* is probably the interrogative form of the verb *nuttinniin*, or *n'tinniin*, *k't*, *kut*, or *kit*, being the affix form of the second person, which the letter *k* represents in the Massachusetts as well as in the Delaware. *To kutussem?* "What hast thou done?" *Gen.* iv. 10. Here the verb is employed in another form, not being combined with the idea of *to me*, which appears expressed in the former word by the *n*, descriptive of the first person. This is, however, but my humble conjecture, which I offer with great diffidence, after the question has been given up by those who are much more skilled than I am in the Indian languages; of which I profess to know nothing except the little I have acquired in the solitude of the closet.

I have only to add a remark respecting the verb *nutāpip*, which, as Judge Davis observes, (in the Postscript to his letter,) is used for *I am*, in Eliot's Bible: "*Before Abraham was, I AM—Negonne onk Abrahamwi nutāpip.* John viii. 58." At the time when Judge Davis wrote to me, I could not explain the meaning of *nutāpip*; but I am now able to do it. *N'dappin* is a Delaware verb, which signifies *to be* (in a particular place) *stare*; the preterite is *n'dappineep*, *stabam*, *hic stabam*. There can be no doubt but Eliot's *nutāpip*, that is to say, *n'tāpip* or *n'dāpip*, is a contraction of the Delaware *n'dappineep*, and means, *I was there*.

 SUPPLEMENTARY OBSERVATIONS. BY THE EDITOR.

AFTER the *Notes and Observations* of Mr. Du Ponceau had been delivered to the printer, I employed the few leisure moments, which I could command, in considering some of the points discussed in them; and in the course of my inquiries some unexpected facts came under my notice. These suggested reflections, which led to a further correspondence between Mr. Du Ponceau and Mr. Heckewelder; and as this correspondence throws much light upon the structure of the Indian Languages, I have thought it would be useful to state in this place some of the facts, to which I have alluded, together with the substance of their additional remarks upon them.

I. On the Verb TO BE.

IT will be recollected, that in conformity with what has been observed in modern times, by Dr. *Edwards* in the *Mohegan* language and by Mr. *Zeisberger* and Mr. *Heckewelder* in the *Delaware*, the author of the present Grammar had said a century and a half ago of the *Massachusetts* language—"We have no *complete distinct word* for the Verb Substantive, as other, learned languages, and our English tongue have; but it is under a regular composition, whereby many words are made verb substantive;" which kind of "composition," he adds, takes place in *nouns*, *adnouns*, *adverbs*, or the like.

Notwithstanding this emphatick observation, however, the venerable author, in his version of the Scriptures, had repeatedly found occasion to translate the verb *to be*, and accordingly often attempted to render it by some equivalent Indian word; a striking instance of which is to be found in the passage already brought under discussion in the preceding *Notes*: *I am that I am*, "*Nen nuttinniin nen [or ne] nuttinniin.*"* This circumstance led me to examine some of the passages, in which the verb *to be* occurred in

* Eliot's *first* edition has *nen nuttinniin NE nuttinniin*; but the *second* has *nen* in both places. This difference will not affect the reasoning respecting the substantive verb, but will only make a difference in the grammatical analysis of the sentence.

the English version of the Bible ; and I soon found, that Eliot appeared to have been driven to the necessity of resorting to Indian words, apparently very different from each other. For one example of this we need not go beyond the very text above cited ; where, though in the first part of the verse he employs the expression *Nen* NUTTINIIN for *I am*, yet, in the latter part, he uses the words *Nen* UKOH : *I AM* *hath sent me unto you*—“*Nen ukoh ancoteamwe nuttanconuk en kuhhogkáont.*” In other parts of his version he uses various other forms of expression for the different tenses of the English verb ; as will be seen in the following examples :

Gen. iii. 9. Where art thou?	Toh <i>kutapin</i> ?
— v. 24. And he was not.	Kah mattah na <i>wutápéin</i> .
— xviii. 24. For the fifty righteous that are there- in.	Newutche napannatahshinchag- odtog sampwesecheg na <i>apit- cheg</i> .
Exod. viii. 21. And also the ground whereon they are.	Kah wame ohkeit ne <i>aphettit</i> .
— xx. 21. Where God was.	Ne God <i>apit</i> .
1 Sam. xix. 3. Where thou art.	Uttoh <i>apean</i> .
1 Kings xxii. 4. I am as thou art.	Nen <i>netatuppe</i> ken.
Job xxxviii. 4. Where wast thou?	Uttoh <i>kutapineas</i> ?
Psalms xxxvii. 36. And lo he was not.	Kah kusseh matta <i>ohtano</i> .
Isa. xxiii. 13. This people was not, till the Assyrian, &c.	Yeug missinninnuog matta <i>ap- pupaneg</i> noh pajeh Assyri- ansog, &c.
John viii. 58. Before Abra- ham was I am.	Negonne Abrahamwi, <i>nutapip</i> .
Rev. i. 4, 8, & iv. 8. From him which is, and which was and which is to come.	Wutch noh noh <i>koh</i> , noh <i>koh m^o</i> noh <i>paont</i> .
— xvii. 8. The beast that was and is not and yet is.	Puppinaashimwoh, noh mo, kah noh matta, kah noh yeuyei <i>apit</i> .

In many other places, however, the author uses some form of the word *nuttiniin* :

Gen. xxxi. 40. Thus I was ; in the day the drought consumed me and the frost by night.	} Yeu <i>mo nuttinaiin</i> , kesukodaue kusittau nuttônauûshik, kah toohpu nukonâeu.
— xxxi. 41. Thus I have been twenty years in thy house.	

This apparent diversity in the modes of expressing the same idea excited my curiosity. It was manifest that the venerable author had experienced a difficulty in finding, what he calls in his Grammar, a "*complete*" verb substantive ; and that he had been obliged to content himself with words which only approximated to the strict signification of that verb. I therefore endeavoured to ascertain the precise import of the words, which he thus appeared to have used as substitutes for it. With this view I began to read *Cotton's English and Indian Vocabulary*, (the MS. mentioned in the *Introductory Observations* to the present Grammar, from which the Hon. Judge Davis had extracted the example of the verb *to be*, that had given rise to the discussion in Mr. Du Ponceau's Notes.* In the course of my reading, I soon met with the verb *nuttinaiin*, used by Eliot, in Exod iii. 14. But I was not a little surprised at the same time to find, that *Cotton* translated it, not by our verb *to be*, but by the verb *to become*. He gives it in this form :

"I am become nuttinai.

We are become, ... —yumu.

To become, ... unniinat."

This discovery now led me to examine Eliot's Bible for texts where the verb *to become* occurred ; in order to see how far *Eliot* agreed with *Cotton*, in rendering that English verb ; and I found, that he also had rendered it sometimes by *nuttinaiin*, the very word, which he had in other places used for the verb *to be*.

Upon returning to my examination of *Cotton's Vocabulary*, I soon met with another of Eliot's substitutes for the verb *to be*—the word *nutapip*, which occurs in this text: *Before Abraham was I am*—"Negonne onk Abrahamwi *nutapip*." John viii. 58. But here again I found that *Cotton* had affixed

* See page xxv. of the Notes.

to the Indian word a different idea from that which *Eliot* seemed to have done; for *Cotton* explained *nutapip* by our verb *to be able*, in different modes and tenses as follows:

“I am able, ... nuttâppĩnum.
 Thou art able, ... ken kuttâppĩnum.
 He is able, ... nagum tâppĩnum.
 We are able, ... nuttâppinnumũmun.
 Ye are able, ... kuttâppinnumwog.
 They are able, ... nâg tappinnumwog, &c.
 I was able, ... nuttâppinũmup.
 Thou wast able, ... kuttâppinũmup.
 Be thou able, ... ken tapinish.
 Let him be able, ... noh tapinetch.
 Let us be able, ... tapinumuttuh.
 Be ye able, ... tapinnumõok.
 Let them be able, ... tapinnumhittich.
 At thou able? sun kuttapinnum?
 To be able, ... tapinumunat.”

As I had discovered these various explanations of the Indian words in question, in the same manuscript where the Hon. Judge Davis had found the supposed substantive verb (*ainneat*) which had given occasion to the discussion in the preceding Notes, I communicated to Mr. Du Ponceau the facts, which had thus fallen under my observation, and referred him to several texts of *Eliot's Bible*, where the words in question occurred; requesting him, at the same time, to favour me with his reflections on the subject; for whether *Cotton* was right in translating *nuttinniin* by *become*, while *Eliot* had rendered it by our verb *to be*, was a point which my own acquaintance with the language did not enable me to determine.

Mr. Du Ponceau, in his reply to my letter, (after observing, that “perhaps *Cotton* could find no better word for *become*”) says—“But if the word means strictly and precisely *become*, how can it mean *TO BE* in the text, *I am that I am*? *Eliot's* translation would then be—*I become, I become*. This is still farther from the meaning of his text than the Delaware *n'dellsin*, *I AM so*.* If I may indulge a conjecture, I should say, that the *Wapanachki* had no proper word

* See Mr. Du Ponceau's Notes, p. xxviii.

for either *be* or *become*, and have perhaps used the same *approximation* in both cases. In general, it appears to me, that the idea of *existence* is never presented singly in any Indian word, but always coupled with some accessory idea, which connects the word with what is to follow. Thus, if they meant to say *I have now become good*, they would probably say, *I am now so that I am good*, or use a word implying or leading to that compound idea. It is true, the relation *back* to what I formerly was, does not here appear; and there lies the difficulty." Mr. Du Ponceau, however, without expressing a settled opinion of his own, consulted Mr. Heckewelder, and has obligingly furnished me with their correspondence; the substance of which I cannot communicate to the reader in a more useful and interesting form than their own language.

In the first letter which Mr. Du Ponceau wrote to Mr. Heckewelder (Oct. 8; 1821) he made the following inquiries: "I wish to know how you express the word *become* in Delaware, as thus: *I was once bad, I have now become good*; and these Scriptural phrases:

The man is become as one of us. Gen. iii. 22.

What will become of his dreams? Gen. xxxvii. 20.

What is become of him? Exod. xxxii. 1.

To them gave he power to become the sons of God. John i. 12.

"In the Natick, (or Massachusetts,) Eliot expresses this word by *nuttinniin*, the same which he uses for *I am that I am*. I think this word is derived from the Delaware *n'dellsin*, *n'tellsin*, changing the *l* into *n*, which is very frequent among Indians. If the Delawares use *n'dellsin* for *become*, it will confirm me in my opinion.

"In the short History of the Bible, at the end of Zeisberger's Spelling Book, it seems to me I have found the word *become* expressed by *n'dellsin*. See page 127, line 10—*That they would become too powerful*. It seems to me that the word *wtellitsch*, in the translation, is meant to express *become*. See also page 136, line 9—*wtellitsch sokenapalan*. Does not this mean, *should be*, or *become* baptized? You will find the word *become* in several other parts of Zeisberger's History of the Bible; as, for instance, pages 119 and 120, third paragraph—*become confirmed*; page 123, second line from the bottom—*become universal*. In these phrases I do not find *n'dellsin*, nor indeed any word to express *become*; which seems in the Delaware to be understood."

To these inquiries, Mr. Heckewelder replied in two different letters. In his first (in consequence of being requested to return an immediate answer) he merely gives a translation in Delaware of the English phrases proposed, without any comment or grammatical explanation, as follows :

- “ 1. To become.

Allumilissin—elsin.

2. I was once bad, I have now become good.

*Nemomachtschilissihump, schukmetschi n'nolilissi.**

3. The man is become as one of us.

Na lenno lüssu, elsiyenk.

4. What will become of his dreams?

Ta hatsch léke eechdelungwamoagana untschi? or, *koecu hatsch w'delungwamoagana untschi?* what benefit will he derive from his dreams?†

5. What is become of him?

Ta eli achpit? (where is he?) or, *ta uchtenden?* how is he? what is he about? or, *ta léke hockeyal*, how does it look about him? (*Germ.* Wie sieht es um ihn aus?)

6. To them gave he power to become the sons of God.

Milap nikik allewussowoagan wentschitsch gask wequise-muxit na-Gettanittowit; or, *milap nekik wdallewus-soagan wentschitschgaski getannellowitall quisemaouna.”*

Mr. Heckewelder's second letter (of Oct. 13) contains a minute consideration of the word *become*, with an explanation of the true import of the different words by which it is expressed in the Delaware language; and the whole letter is so interesting, and throws

* “*Machtschi*, bad; *schuk*, but; *metschi*, ready, already; *olilis*, good, (from *wulit*.) P. S. D.”

† “*Nane léketsch*; amen, so be it, so may it happen, *koecu*, what, something. P. S. D.”

so much light upon the structure of the Indian languages, that I am unwilling to abridge it. He writes as follows :

"By your two letters of the 8th and 9th of October, I discover that my first answer to your questions had not reached you. In that I attempted to translate the Scripture passages quoted by you, for the purpose of discovering what word the Delawares have for our word BECOME, or TO BECOME ; the German word for it being *werden*.

"I have since also given the quotations from Scripture, contained in your *last* letters, due consideration, but cannot discover any kind of word in the Delaware language, that would answer *generally* to the English word *become*, or the German *werden* ; neither do I believe there is such a word in their language. Yet they are never at a loss to convey the sense or meaning of this word by means of syllables from two or more words joined together ; and, indeed, often the *termination* of a word is sufficient for that purpose. The word *állemi*, which implies something *progressing, advancing, towards a close, going on, &c.*, is with them joined (generally *prefixed*) to a word which is expressive of the object it is progressing to : Thus, *allemiken* (to ripen) contains the meaning of the two words, *állemi gischiken*, which, when separated, are lengthened out as here written ; *tepiken* (Zeisb. p. 37) being the general word for any thing that bears fruit or grain, *when or being ripe, full-grown, &c.* Again : the word *allemilek* implies a *prediction*, or any thing *expected, progressing towards* the point, or towards establishing the fact ; as for instance, when I say—*metschi ALLEMILEK endchen ndelloweneep*, it is the same as saying, *all that I had said (or foretold)* is now coming to pass.

"In this way the word *become* is, in a manner, interwoven in the words of their language ; and by examining the passages you quote from Zeisberger's Translation, it will be found so. As, in his History of the Bible, p. 119, third paragraph, for the English word *increase*, or, *that they increased*, he has the word *allemikenéwo*, from the word *allemi gischiken* (the termination *éwo* signifying *they*) that is, *they became more numerous*.* At pages 126—7, where you take the word *wtellitch* to express *become*, which word, however, has a different signification) Zeisberger says—*ahanhocqui gischigápannik* ; which words imply *an additional or extraordinary increase*, which had taken place in Egypt, &c. ; and for the words—

* "The word *gischiken* is also applicable to the birth of an infant—*sound born*. J. H."

the king became apprehensive, Zeisberger has—*wentschi Sakima nechasop** *wtellitsch wsami m'chelhittin, woak allowiwunan*—which is—therefore the King became fearful, that by means of this increase they might finally be too powerful for them: Here *sop* answers for jealous.

“The passage *wtellitsch Sokenapálan*, which you quote from page 136, line 9—*nil milápanil Allouchsowoagan wentschitsch undamemensichtit Getannittowittink* is translated from the German text, which reads thus: *Denen gab er macht kinder Gottes zu werden. John i. 12.* The words *kinder zu werden* (in English *to become children*) are expressed in the Indian word *undamemensichtit*; in which the two last syllables *ichtit* express the words *to become*; (Germ. *werden*;) so that the two last words, *undamemensichtit Getannittowittink*, taken together, clearly imply *to become children of God*.

“The next passage you quote, (from page 108, and which you find in Matt. xviii. 3,)

	Mattatsch	gluppiwéque,	woak	mattatsch	amemensuwiwéque,
(ENG.	<i>If not</i>	<i>you turn back,</i>	<i>and,</i>	<i>if not</i>	<i>as children ye become,)</i>
(GERM.	<i>Wo nicht</i>	<i>ihr umkehret,</i>	<i>und</i>	<i>wo nicht als die kinder ihr werdet,</i>	

is as clearly set forth in their language as in either of ours; the word *become* (Germ. *werden*) being incorporated in the last word, or expressed by the last syllables *wiweque*. The word *wentschi* for *therefore*, (in German, *darum*,) Zeisb. p. 17, with the *tsch* at the end of it, points or directs to something that is to take place in future; it implies as much as to say in German—*damit es geschehen möge*. The reason for my going there is also expressed by them thus—*wentschitsch na ayane*.

“Thus there are many Indian words, which, though necessary in explaining a thing, do not effect it without an additional word. For example, the word *anenáwi* would be, in German, *endlich*, and in English, *at last, finally*, &c. Now, by adding the syllable *itsch* to it, so as to make it *anenáwitsch*, it directs you *forward*, to something that is yet *to take place*, which is generally set forth in the next following word or words; as *anenawitsch knémeneen Ménach-*

* “For *nechásin* and *nechasil*; see Zeisb. p. 30. *Nechasop*, in the text, stands for *jealous, fearful*, &c. J. H.”

king, that is, in German, *endlich werden wie doch Pittsburg sehen*—*finally, or at last, we shall see Pittsburg*, or (as is properly meant) *arrive at Pittsburg*; the last word in this Indian expression being their name for that place. But I may also say—*auwiéwi knementsch Ménachking, finally we shall see (or arrive at) Pittsburg.*”

These observations of Mr. Heckewelder will be rendered still more useful to the student, by the following additional explanations, which were communicated in a subsequent letter to Mr. Du Ponteau. Mr. H. says—

“The structure of the Indian languages is, as you observe, truly wonderful.....I once believed myself competent to understand every word they used; and I can still plainly see the necessity of every syllable in a word, by which to explain themselves properly. Not being able, however, to answer your questions intelligibly, otherwise than by examples, setting forth words and phrases, which will lead to the required solution, I shall adopt that method.

“Thus with regard to the syllable *UND*. I begin with the word *unden*, *Zeisb.* p. 16. This (says *Z.*) is *to take from*, which so far is correct; for, if an Indian becomes possessed of an article not seen with him before, he will be asked—“*TA GUNDEN?** *where did you get it? or how did you come by it?*” for the word *unden* of itself instructs us, that the article was obtained at *some* place, or came to hand through or from *some* source. As, *Zeisberger*, p. 67—*UNDENUMMEN*, *to take it from*, or, more properly, *to have obtained it* (*es bekommen*)—*WUNDENASIK*, *where* it is to be got from (*Zeisb.* p. 72) points to a *certain* place where the article was obtained or *may be had*.

“When the syllable *UND* or *WEND* is *prefixed*, in a *spiritual* sense, it applies to *favours, gifts, &c.*, not to things purchased, or on which a price is set. Thus *WENDENUKOWOAGAN*, *reception, admittance.* *Zeisb.* 111.—*UNDOOCHWENALL*, *he came for their sake.* *Zeisb.* 67.—“*Christ undoochwenep getemaxitschit*” is, *Christ came for the purpose of (saving or relieving) the poor, or needy.* *WENDaptonachga*, *of, or from the word.* *Zeisb.* 95.—*Christ wundaptonalgun*, *Christ (by or through his word) speaks unto us* (that is, we do not ourselves hear him speak, yet what he says is directed to us) *from his place of abode*; *UNDEN Christink*,

* In this word *gunden*, and some others, Mr. Heckewelder seems (according to the practice of German writers) to use the letter *g* for *k*; this latter being the usual prefix to denote the second person.

it proceedeth or cometh *from* him ; *UNDamemensemichtit*, *through* or *by.....to become*, &c.

"I can go no further in explaining the syllable *und* (from *unden*) than to add, that when used in a *temporal* sense, it implies *to get* or *have gotten*, *procured*, or *purchased* such a thing or article from the place or person at the time named. In a *spiritual* sense, it is applied to a thing *obtained* by free will or through *grace*—to be *admitted*, *received*, *BE*, OR *BECOME* a *partaker*, &c. of, in, or to whatever one or the other of the *connected* words indicates.

"*WENTSCHI* is simply *therefore* (Germ. *darum*, *um desswillen*.)

"*WENTSCHITSCH* is *thereby* (Germ. *dadurch*) and directs to the future..

"We have no such words as *nentschi*, *kentschi*, in the language. The letter *w*, in *wentschi*, does not point to the third person, but is necessary to distinguish that word from *UNTSCHI*, *from*, *of*, (*Zeisb.* 16.) which, being a general word, is frequently either wholly or partly incorporated in other words; as, for instance: *Ta untschiey*—*where does it come from?* *Nik lennowak wemi utenink UNTSCHijeyih*—*those men are all come from the city.*

"*NUNTSCHihilla uteney*—*I came*, with speed, *from* the city. *Kuntschihilla uteney*—*are you come*, with speed, *from* the city? *Untschihilleu uteney*—*he came*, speedily, *from* the city or town. *Kuntschillahummo uteney*—*are you all come* from the city or town?"*

To these remarks should be added a brief explanation of the terminations *muxit* and *sichtit*, which occur in some of the preceding examples:

"In looking over your letter (says Mr. H.) after I had written this, I find that I had not sufficiently explained the terminations *muxit* and *sichtit*. Please to turn to Zeisberger's Spelling Book, page 104, for the word *MACHELEMUXOWOAGAN*, *honour*; p. 82, for the word *MACHELEMUXIT*,† *he that is honoured*; and p. 52, for *MACHELENDAM*, *to honour*, &c. Now *MACHELEMAU* or *MACHELEMÆ* is, *honour him*, &c.; *MACHELEMUXichtit*, may be *or become honoured*. Now it will be understood as ex-

* "The syllables *hilla* (taken from the word *schihilla*, quickly, speedily,) added to the word *untschi*, make the compound *untschihilla*, and denote either *quick running* or *riding*. J. H."

† "It is all the same whether I write this word *muxsit* or *mucksit*: I have seen the word *maxen* (shoes) written *mocksen*, &c. J. H."

actly the same thing, whether I say WENTSCHI MACHELEMUX-*ichtitetsch*, or WENTSCHITSCH, MACHELEMUX*ichtit*, to become honoured. The same thing takes place in the word UND-AMEMEN-*sichtit*; the future, *to be made, become*, in the first words, is in the termination *ichtitetsch*; in the last, it is partly in the termination of the word *wentschitsch*, and partly in the termination of the second word *ichtit*."

I cannot omit adding here (from a letter of Mr. Du Ponceau) the following elucidation of the Indian method of expressing our verbs :

"We are now (says he) upon the word *become*; and Mr. Heckewelder has told us, that there is no proper word for it in the language of the Delawares, but yet that they are never at a loss for a method of conveying that idea. Let us see how they go about it. Mr. H. instances the words to become *honoured*; in Delaware *wentschi machelemuxichtitetsch*, or (what is equivalent) *wentschitsch machelemuxichtit*. This may be passed as follows :

"*Wentschi* (as explained in Mr. Heckewelder's letter) is *therefore*; *wentschitch* is *thereby*, and directs to the future.

"*Machelemuxichtit*. In the *Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee*, (p. 445 of Mr. Heckewelder's Correspondence,) we have the substantive *machelemuxowoagan*, *honour*, or *the being honoured*. The verb is *machelendam* (3d conjug.) *to honour*; *machelemuxit* (particip.) *he who is honoured*; *machelemuxichtit* (3d pers. plur. conditional, or conjunctive) *if, or when they are honoured*. Observe, that the phrase *to be honoured* is here taken in a plural sense—*wentschimachelemuxichtitetsch* or *wentschitsch machelemuxichtit*. *Tsch* is the sign of the future; and it is a matter of indifference, says Mr. Heckewelder, whether it is suffixed to the preposition *by it*, or to the verb *to be honoured*; hence, the two modes of rendering the sentence. Thus "to become the children of God" is expressed in Zeisberger's Harmony, by "*wentschitsch undamemensichtit Getannittowitink*;" WENTSCHITSCH, *thereby in future*, UNDAMEMENSICHTIT, (from *awemens*, child,) *to become the children*. Here the word *become* is not at all used, but a compound verb, from the substantive *child*, expresses the idea; as in the Latin word *beatificari* (a word formed much after the Indian manner) the syllable *fi* awakening in the mind the idea of *fieri*; but as there is no such word as *fieri* in the Indian (in the mere abstract sense) the same idea is differently expressed. Lastly; GETANNITTOWITINK, *of God—ink or onk* is a termination of

relation, and here expresses the genitive. See *Zeisberger's Grammar*: "Nihillalquonk Allogewoaganall, *God's the Lord's works.*"

The preceding discussion respecting the verbs *to be* and *to become*, has been confined (as the reader will have observed) to two of the Indian languages only, the Delaware of the present day, and the Massachusetts as spoken a century and a half ago. But since the correspondence of Mr. Heckewelder and Mr. Du Ponceau, I have been enabled to extend my inquiries on the present question to some other Indian dialects; though not with the same minuteness and certainty as in the case of the Delaware language. For the information which I have obtained, I am indebted to the Rev. Herman Daggett, Superintendent of the *Foreign Missionary School*, established at Cornwall, in the State of Connecticut; who, notwithstanding the pressure of ill health, was so obliging as to make particular inquiries for me on this subject of the different Indian pupils under his care. In his letter to me, of the 22d of October, 1821, he says——

"I have, strictly speaking, but *four* Indian languages in my school; the Choctaw, the Cherokee, the Muhhegunneau (or Stockbridge) and the Iroquois, including the Oneida, Tuscarora and Caughnewaga. The youth of these nations, or tribes, agree in saying, as far as I can make them understand the subject, that *they have no substantive verb*. Where we should say, *I am here*, they can only say, *I here* or *I stand* or *live here*. I have now but one *Stockbridge* lad; he recognizes, in some measure, his own language in the few words you have given from *Eliot*, but appears to know nothing of the verb conjugated by *Cotton*.* The word *nuttinnee*, he says, signifies *always the same, without change*; and *nutapip*, *I was born*, or *I born*.

"The attempts of the different youths at translating the given passages [of scripture] are not very satisfactory. Some of them have a word, or part of a word, which, they say, signifies *AM* or *WAS*, in *connexion*; but they say it has not that meaning *by itself*. Their translation, they say, is good Cherokee or good Choctaw, &c.; but when I try to bring them to explain and analyze, they are at a loss.....I can plainly discover that there is a beautiful contexture in their languages."†

* The words of *Eliot* here alluded to, were—*Negonne onk Abrahamwi nutapip*—John viii. 58; and the verb conjugated by *Cotton* was *ainneat*, which is given above, at p. xxv. As to the close affinity between the *Muhhegunneau* (Mohegan) and the Massachusetts, see above, *Introductory Observations*, p. 239.

† For specimens of the *Cherokee* language, the reader is referred to Dr. Jarvis's *Discourse on the Religion of the Indian Tribes of North America*;

From the whole of this investigation, then, it appears—

1. That the observation made by Eliot, at the very early period when he wrote, that there was “no complete distinct word for the verb substantive” in the Massachusetts language, is very fully confirmed by what we find to be the case in the *Delaware* language; which is the main stock of the Massachusetts and other northern dialects, and from which we may reason (in respect to general properties) to the derivative dialects, without much hazard of falling into any material errors.

2. That the Massachusetts verb *nuttinniin* (or *n'tinniin*, as it would now be written) which Eliot sometimes uses for our verb *to be*, and sometimes for *become*, is nothing more than an *approximation* to the strict meaning of those English words.

But the precise import of the Massachusetts verb *nuttinniin* does not yet appear so clearly as to leave no uncertainty upon the subject; though it seems to have a close affinity with the Delaware verb *n'dellsin*, and probably is (as Mr. Du Ponceau has above observed) the very corresponding verb in that kindred dialect. If, upon further investigation, this should prove to be the fact, beyond all doubt, then we shall need no other authority for the fundamental idea of this verb, than that of Mr. Heckewelder, who informs us, that in the *Delaware* it is, *I act so, I act for myself* (in German, *so bin ich gestellt*.) Yet, until the identity of the two verbs is incontrovertibly established, it may be allowable in an inquiry of this nature to offer even conjectures; with the hope, that if such conjectures should not be entirely well founded in themselves, they may be the means of exciting such further investigations, as may at last conduct us to the true solution of the problem. Under this impression, I shall submit one other view of the subject, which has occurred to me upon a fresh examination of Eliot's Grammar, and some other works relative to the dialects of our *northern* Indians. I offer it as a mere conjecture; and I should not venture to do even that, if I had not obtained the approbation of Mr. Du Ponceau himself, who thinks this view not unworthy of being submitted to the reader.

Eliot, in p. 23 of his Grammar, has the following curious remark: “There be also suppletive syllables of no signification but for ornament of the word, as *tit, tin, tinne*; and these, in way of an elegancy, receive the *affix*, which belongeth to the noun or verb following, as *nuttit, kuttit, wuttit, NUTTIN, kuttin, wuttin, NUT-TINNE, kuttinne, wuttinne*.”

During a very recent perusal of his Grammar, this remark at-

the learned Notes of which contain much valuable information on the *Languages* of the Indians.

tracted my notice; and it immediately occurred to me that, possibly, the suppletive syllable *tinne* might be a constituent part of the verb *nuttinniin*; in which case the verb itself would be simply *nuttiin*, or (as we should now write it) *n'tiin*. Pursuing the investigation, upon this hypothesis, I found in *Cotton's MS. Vocabulary* several instances, in which the suppletive *tin* (as well as some of the other suppletives) appeared to be thus incorporated into different verbs with the affixes of the different persons, in conformity with Eliot's observation. This led me to continue my inquiries for a verb of the form I have mentioned (*n'tiin*; and I had the satisfaction at last of meeting with it in *Roger Williams's Vocabulary* of the *Naraganset* dialect; which is now well known to be nearly the same language with the *Massachusetts*. In that *Vocabulary*, the verb in question occurs in the three following phrases; in one of which, however, it is somewhat obscured by the author's very irregular orthography:

"Yo ntîin I *live* here.
 Tou wuttîin? where *lives* he?
 Tuckuttiin [tou kuttîin?] where *keep* you?"*

Now, if *Eliot's* verb *nuttinniin* is in fact the same with *Williams's* verb *n'tiin*, the signification of it, as the reader perceives, is very different from that of the pure substantive verb; some other idea being united with that of mere existence in the abstract. How far this analysis of the verb *nuttinniin* may be well founded, is submitted to the candid reader, with all that hesitation, which ought to be felt by one, who has no more knowledge of the Indian languages than I possess.

Thus far the present remarks have been directed to the meaning of *Eliot's* verb *nuttinniin*; and it now only remains, to ascertain the signification of his other substitutes for the "complete substantive verb," which occur in the texts above cited (p. xxxi.). The explanations of these last will take up the less time, as the remarks upon the former, in connexion with the general question, have been extended to so great a length. I shall give them in a very concise form, as they occur in Mr. Du Ponceau's letters to me. He says—

"I have studied the problems, and think I have gone a great way towards solving them.

* The English word *keep* seems to be here used by Williams, in the provincial signification, which it has in some parts of New England at the present day; that is, in the sense of *to stay, reside*, or (as Williams says in the other two phrases) *to live*. See his *Key*, chap. i. in *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. v. p. 80, 81.

"I. Rev. i. 4. From him which is, and which was, and which is to come—*Wutch noh, noh koh, noh koh mô, noh paont.*

WUTCH (Delaw. *wentschi*) from.

NOH, *he, him* (Gram. p. 7.) used again for *who* or *which*.

KOH. This word is embarrassing, because of the letter *k*, indicating the second person. I am unable at present to explain it in a manner perfectly satisfactory to myself.

NOH PAONT. This is easily explained from the Delaware. In that language, we find PAHUMP, *to come*; PEU, *he comes*; PEWAK, *they come*. PAONT is undoubtedly an inflexion of the same verb. In Eliot's Grammar, p. 22, we find WOI NAPEHNONT, *O! that it were*; which literally is—*O that it came (to pass.)*

MO. That MO is a particle indicative of the past, I have little doubt; as in Gen. xxxi. 40, above quoted: YEU MO NUTTINNAIIN—YEU, *this*, (used for *thus*)—MO, *heretofore*, NUTTINNAIIN, *was so or so* (from *n'dellsin*), as stated in the notes before communicated.

"If I am right thus far, then every thing is explained but *koh*, which I cannot yet sufficiently account for.

"II. Rev. xvii. 8.....and yet is—*kah noh yeuyeu* APIT.

KAH NOH YEUYEU APIT—and he, this this (yeu yeu, Gram. p. 8.) *is there*; *âpit* (pronounced as *épit* in German) *illic stat. Yeu duplicated, perhaps used for which.*

"III. Gen. v. 4.....*kah matta na* WUTAPEIN.

NA is an expletive which I cannot explain.

WUTAPEIN (Delaw. *w'dappin*, he is there.) See *Zeisb. Delaware Grammar*.

"IV. Psalm xxxvii. 36..... *matta ohtano*, was not.

OHTANO is probably a form of the same verb, and means he was not there. *W'dano, w'tano, ohtano*; the *o, u* and *oh* are often used by Eliot for the Delaware *w* sibilant. For the same reason, we say, the *Ottawas, Utawas*, while their proper name is *W'tawas*, or *Wtawas*."

II. Numerals.

ELIOT, in his Grammar, gives as the numeral *one*, the word *nequt* only, corresponding to the Delaware *n'gutti*, and the Naraganset *nquit*. But in his Bible he uses also the word *pasuk*, corresponding to the Abnaki *pézekou* of Father Râle's dictionary, and the Naraganset *pâwsuck* of Roger Williams's Key. Now, in

reading Cotton's valuable Vocabulary, the following curious distinction, in the use of these two different numerals, attracted my notice :

“*Nequt*, a thing that is past.
Pasuk, a thing in being.”

I lost no time in communicating this distinction of Cotton's to Mr. Du Ponceau, with a wish that he would ascertain from Mr. Heckewelder, whether any thing of the kind was to be found in the *Delaware* language. This circumstance gave rise to the following interesting observations on the Delaware numerals :

“The Delawares (says Mr. H. in his first letter) have the following words for *one*, viz: *n'gutti*, *máwat*, *mauchsu*, and *majouchsu*. The two first are generally made use of for what is *inanimate*; the latter two, for what is *animate*. *Páschuk* is the true Mahicanni word for *one*.”

In a subsequent letter, Mr. H. gives the following more copious explanation in respect to the *Delaware* numerals; which serves at the same time to elucidate the curious structure of the Indian languages :

“Not being quite satisfied with the partial answer I gave you in a hurry respecting the numeral *one*, I will now expatiate more fully thereon; first, pointing out what words the Delawares have in their language, equally necessary to be known, in addition to the one above quoted; as much depends, in speaking their language, upon having each word in its proper place; for although the numeral *n'gutti*, for *one*, may be in a manner considered as the *general* word in this language for the number *one*, (be the same *animate* or *inanimate*) yet it is not always the case. Indeed the *first* syllable of that word, *n'gut*, (*I* leave out always the prefixed *n*, there being no necessity for it, as it is only put there to explain the numeral; as by saying “*one single one*,”) I say, that although this first syllable is very useful, and *prefixed* to a great number of *compound* words, all which tend to show that this syllable *gut* cannot be dispensed with, as will by and by be shown by examples; yet, the *latter* syllable of the numeral, the *ti*, is not only in numerous cases useless, but would be even improper, if retained. *Ex.* The Indian name or word for a *one-legged* person, being *gut-gat*, is a compound of two words; *gut*, from GUTTI, *one*, and *gát*, from WICHGAT, *the leg*: GUTGATSU, *he is one-legged*, or *has but one leg*. GUTOKENAK is the word for *one day*; GUTAWICAN, *one fathom* (*awícan* being the word for *one fathom*, or six feet;) GUT-TAPACHKI, *one hundred*, &c. Generally speaking, the

Indians are very nice in the selecting of words. I will give you such as are in conjunction with the one in question, viz. GUTTI, *one*: Zeisb. 11, 'MAWAT (only) *one*.' Zeisb. 13, MAYAAT (is the same in the Minsey.) The two latter of these three words can in no wise be made use of with that which is *animate*; on the other hand, the words MAUCHSU and MAYAUCHSU are the proper words for what is *animate*: MAUCHSU LENNO is *one man*; MAUCHSU TIPAS, *one* (single) *fowl*, &c. (*Mayauchs* is the Minsey word for the same. See Zeisberger 52, at bottom.) If I meant to say to a *Lenape*, that of all the men who had returned from hunting, only *one* (single person) had killed a deer, I could not make use of the numeral *n'gutti*, for that *one*, but I must say—*bischi apallawiwak lennowak weemi allod mauchs* (or *mayauchs*) *schuk*; *mescheu*. See, for *mayauchs*, Zeisb. p. 52, at bottom; and for *MEMayauchs*-*siyENK*, every ONE of us, *MEMayauchsiyEEK*, every ONE of you, Zeisb. p. 105.

"You inquire further, whether it is the same in the Delaware, as Cotton says it is in the *Natick* [Massachusetts] that there are 'two words for the numeral *one*—*n'gutte* or *nequt*, for a thing *past*, and *pasuk*, for a thing *present*.' In this remark, I consider Cotton to be under a mistake; for I am sure, that the *Mahicanni* word *n'gutte* (the same as the Delaware *n'gutti* or *gutti*) is a *general* word, and in constant use for the *present*. The *Mahicanni* say—*guttē* or *gutta* for *one*: "*Gutta-gūn* (in Delaware, *gutti-gull*) *ONE six-penny piece*—*n'guttōxena* (Delaw. *guttāxen*) *ONE pair of shoes*, &c. I presume the *Natick* word *nequt* answers to the Delaware *guttEN*, since it points to the *past*, as for instance—*gūTTEN n'gachti angeln*, *ONCE I was on the point of dying*; *gūTTEN woapan*, *ONCE of a morning*; *schuk gutTEN Cuequenāku m'pahn*, *ONLY ONCE I have been at Philadelphia*, &c. The *Delawares* have also the word *nekti* (See Zeisb. p. 14) much in use when speaking of any *one* thing or article, and not being possessed of more than the one of that kind.

"I have already said (in my last letter) that *paschuk* is a true *Mahicanni* word for *one*; and so I suppose *nequt* to be, in its proper place.

"You inquire how this word *paschuk* is pronounced, whether as in German, or as in English, with the acute *a*. I always write words according to the pronunciation of the Germans; but in writing the word according to the English alphabet, I should write it *pawshuk*.

"I will add one observation on certain differences between the languages of the *Mohegans* (or *Mahicanni*) and the *Delawares*, both in respect to the words themselves, and the manner of pro-

nouncing. The Mohegans, by *changing* some of their letters in words from that of the Delawares, by *dropping* others entirely, and by drawing out their words in speaking, give the language a different sound from what it otherwise would have, were they to abide by the proper letters, and speak *off hand* as the Delawares do. They generally drop the letter L of the Delawares, and supply its place with the letter N; and where the Delawares have a *single* vowel, they sound their word as if there were *two*. For example :

For the Delaware . .	<i>koecu</i>	(what) they say,	GAQUAI ;
For	<i>auween</i>	(who)	AWAAN ;
For	<i>ni</i>	(I)	NIA ;
For	<i>oyos</i>	(meal)	WIAAS ;
For	<i>niluna</i>	(we)	NIANA ;
For	<i>dee</i>	(heart)	OTTAHA, &c.

To these remarks on the Indian *numerals*, it may be useful to add an important observation made by Mr. Heckewelder, in the *Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee*. He there says—"On the subject of the numerals, I have had occasion to observe, that they sometimes differ very much in languages derived from the same stock. Even the *Minsi*, a tribe of the Lenape or Delaware nation, have not all their numerals like those of the *Unami* tribe, which is the principal among them."*

* Correspondence with Mr. Du Ponceau, in the *Transactions*, p. 381.

INDEX OF INDIAN WORDS IN ELIOT'S GRAMMAR: INCLUDING SELECT WORDS FROM HIS TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE.

Advertisement. THE following Index was originally intended by the editor to include only those Indian words, which are contained in Eliot's *Grammar*; and Mr. Du Ponceau had prepared (from the *Grammar and Bible* together) a separate List of words, corresponding to the seventy English words of the *Comparative Vocabularies* in Dr. Barton's *New Views of the Tribes and Nations of America*. But, as many of the words in Mr. Du Ponceau's List were also to be found in the *Grammar*, and would of course be repeated in an index to that work, the editor has (with the concurrence of Mr. Du Ponceau) incorporated the whole into the present Index. In order, however, to enable the reader to select from it all the words, which correspond to those of Dr. Barton's List, and thus supply the want of a separate Vocabulary, such corresponding words are here printed in SMALL CAPITALS. The words selected from the *Bible*, by Mr. Du Ponceau, will be readily distinguished by their having no references to pages annexed to them.

A.	Page	
A (a vowel often inserted for the sake of euphony)		came a man; wompi, white, wompiyeuoo, it is white, 12, 16
	See Gram. p. 9.	Arúm (in the "Northern" dialect) a dog 2
Ahque (<i>adv. of forbidding</i>) beware, do not 21		As; a syllable added to the indicative mode of verbs, in order to make it interrogative. See Gram. p. 27.
ACHQUNNON, rain. See SOKANON		It is also used, to change the present tense into the preterite. See Gram. pp. 62, 63
Ah (an inflexion of animate nouns.) See Gram. 8		Ash (<i>adv. of continuation</i>) still 21
Ahquompak, when 21		Ash (the plural termination of inanimate nouns.) See Gram. 10
Ahtuk, a deer 9		ASKONUH, skin
Alúm (in the <i>Nipmuk dialect</i>) a dog 2		Askook, a snake or worm 9
ANOGQS, a star 9		Asquam (<i>adv. of choosing</i>) not yet 21
Anomut, within 21		Assootu, foolish 16
Anue (<i>adv. of choosing</i>) more rather; 21		Asuh, or 22
also a sign of the comparative degree: Anue menuh-kesu, more strong 15		At; a termination used in forming the infinitive mode, which is done by adding this termination to the indicative, and taking away the suffix 20
Ao, ooo and yeuoo; terminations added to nouns, adjectives, adverbs, &c. in order to change them into verbs substantive; as, wosketomp, a man, wosketompoo, he is a man, or he be-		

At, en, in, ut: (*prep.*) in, at
or to 22
Ayim, he made 8

C.

Chaubohkish; except, besides 22
Chuh (*adv. of calling; the
same as hóh*) 21

E.

E (*used as the termination of
the inanimate form of some
adjectives.*) See Gram. p. 13
E or u; the common termina-
tions of adverbs; as wame
or wamu, all; menuhke or
menuhku, strongly 21
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or encouraging*) 21
Ehoh, (*interj. of encouraging*) 22
En See át
Emes or es; terminations
added to primitive nouns
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emes is the least of them 12
Es (mark of diminutive. See
emes)
Es and esu (*terminations of
the animate form of some
adjectives.*) See Gram. p. 13
Eum, oom, or um; the sign of
the "possessive rank" of
nouns 12

H.

Hah; the same as ehoh 22
Hó (*interj. of wondering*) 22
Hog, body
Hóh (*adv. of calling; the
same as chuh*) 21
Hoo; the same as hó 22
Horsemes; diminutive of the
English word horse 12
Horsesog; the plural of the
English word horse 12
Howan, who 7
Howanig; plural of howan 7

Hussun, a stone 10
Hussunemes; diminutive of
hussun 12

I.

I (*used as the termination of
the inanimate form of some
adjectives.*) See Gram. p. 13
In (*prep.*) See át
Ishkont, lest 22

K.

Keek, thy house 11
Keekit, in thy house 11
Keekou, your house (*plur.*) 11
Keekuwout, in your house (*pl.*) 11
Ken, thou 7
Kenaau, ye 7
Kenawun or neenawun, we 7
Kenuppōwonuk, he died for
thee* 18
Kenuppōwonukqun, he died
for us* 18
Kenuppōwonukō, he died for
you,* 18
Kenutcheq, thy hand 11
Kenutheganash or kenutche-
gash, thy hands 11
Kenutheganō, your hand (*pl.*) 11
Kenuthegash. See kenut-
heganash
Kenutheganōwout,
your hands 11
KESUK, heaven
KESUKOD, day
Kesukquieu, toward heaven 21
KOON, snow
Kōowadchansh, I keep thee 17
Kōowadchanumoush, I keep it
for thee or for thy use 17
Kōowadchanumwanshun, I
keep it for thee, I act in
thy stead* 18

* "This form [of the verb] is of
great use in Theologie, to express
what Christ hath done for us."

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Koowompesuonk, thy white- ness	20
Kusseh (<i>adv.</i>) behold . . .	22
Kuttah, thy heart	11
Kuttahhou, your heart (<i>plur.</i>)	11
Kuttumma, (<i>adv.</i>) very lately	21
Kuttumma, (<i>conj.</i>) unless . .	22

M.

MAHTUGQUE, wood. <i>See</i> Mehtug	
MAMAICHEKESUKQUT, air	
MANIT, God	9
Massachusetts*	2
Matchaog, no	21
Matchet, wunnegen, waan- tamwe (<i>adverbs of quality.</i>) "Of this kinde are all Vir- tues and Vices." <i>See</i> Grammar, p.	22
Matta, no	21
Mattannit, the Devil	9
Mattayeucutch, let it be nay. <i>James v. 12</i>	16
MEENAN, the tongue'	10
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MEEPIT, a tooth	10
MEESUNK, hair. <i>See</i> weshagan	
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Menuhke or menuhku, strongly	21
Menuhkekont (<i>from</i> menuhki, <i>strong, and</i> muhkont, <i>a leg</i>) a strong leg	15

Menuhki, strong	13
Menuhkosketomp (<i>from</i> me- nuhki, <i>strong, and</i> woske- tomp, <i>a man</i>) a strong man	15
Menuhku. <i>See</i> menuhke	
MENUTCHEG, a hand	10
METAH, the heart. <i>See</i> tah	11
MEYASUNK, hair. <i>See</i> meesunk	
MISSIS, sister	
MITTAMWOSSIS, a woman . .	9
Mo, sometimes signifies not	21
Moeu (<i>adv.</i>) together . . .	21
Mohmoeg (<i>frequentative verb</i>) they oft met*	17
MOHTOMPOG, morning	
Monaog, many	8
Moocheke (<i>an intensive</i>) much	15
Mooi, black	13
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Mos, pish; words added to the indicative mode to ex- press futurity	20
Moskeht, grass	10
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MUHHOG, the body. <i>See</i> hog	9
Muhkont, a leg	10
Muhpit, an arm	10
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MUKKIESOH, MUKKIS, a child	
MUKKIS. <i>See</i> mukkiesoh	
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MUSSEET, the foot	10
Mussissittoon, a lip	10
MUTTON, a mouth	

N.

Nabo; used in the numerals. <i>See</i> Gram.	14
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* "Massachusetts—an *hill* in the form of an *Arrow's Head*." Cotton's *MS. Vocabulary of the Language of the Plymouth Indians*.

* "When the action is doubled or frequented, &c. this notion hath not a distinct form, but is expressed by doubling the first syllable of the word." Gram, p. 17.

Nag or neg, they	7	<i>found in the same part of the Grammar.</i>	
Nagoh or nahoh, they	7		
Nagum or noh, he	7	Netatup (<i>adverb of likeness</i>)	
Nahen, (<i>adv.</i>) almost	21	like so	22
Nahoh. <i>See</i> nagoh		Newutche, wutch, wutche; for, from, because	22
Nahohtôeu (<i>adverb of order</i>) second	21	Neyane. <i>See</i> neane	
Nahpenont, woi, toh; oh that it were. <i>Lat.</i> utinam	21, 34	NIPPE, water	
NAHOHS, a fish	9	Nipmuk; the name of a tribe of Indians. <i>See</i> <i>Introductory Observations</i> , p. 238, note.	
Nano (<i>a sign of the comparative degree</i>) more and more	15	Nish, these	7
Naumóg (<i>the ó accented being pronounced as in the English word vogue</i>) if YE see	3	Nishwu (<i>adv. of order</i>) third	21
Naumog (<i>the o unaccented being pronounced as in log</i>) if WE see	3	Nôadtuck (<i>adv.</i>) a long time	21
NAUMON, son		Nogkus, belly	
NAUT, there	21	Nogque. <i>See</i> ne nogque and yeu nogque	
Nawhutche, some	8	Noh or nagum, he	7
Ne, that	7	Nôosh, my father	
Neane (<i>sometimes written in Eliot's Bible, neyane</i>) as	22	Nôochumwi, weak	13
Neek, my house	11	NÔOTAU, fire	
Neekit, in my house	11	Nôowaadchanumun-toh; I wish, or desire, to keep it	19
Neekun, our house	11	Nôowadchanit, I am kept	16
Neekunonut, in our house	11	Nôowadchanittimun, we keep each other. <i>This form always wants the singular number</i>	17
NEEMAT, my brother		Nôowadchanumôoun, I do not keep it	19
Neen, I (ego)	7	Nôowadchanumun, I do keep it	19
Neenawun or kenawun, we*	7	Nôowadchanumun neek, I keep my house	17
Neetomp, my friend		Nôowadchanumunas? do I keep it?	19
Neg. <i>See</i> nag		Nôowadchanumunash nôowéat-chimineash, I keep my corn	17
Negonnu (<i>adv. of order</i>) first	21	Nôowaantam, I am wise	13, 24
Nemehkuh, so	22	Nôowompes, I am white	16, 20
Nen, I (ego)		Nôowompesuonk, my whiteness	20
Ne nogque, towards that way	21		
NEPAUSHADT, moon			
NEPAUZ, sun			
NEPUN, summer			
Nequt (<i>numeral</i>) one†	14		
<i>The other numerals will be</i>			

* See Mr. Du Ponceau's remarks on these two forms of the plural, p. xix. of his *Notes*.

† Cotton, in his MS. Vocabulary of the language of the *Plymouth In-*

dians, has this remark—"Nequt, a thing that is past: *Pasuk*, a thing in being." But see the observations on this subject, p. xlv. of the preceding *Notes*.

N'puhkuk, my head. <i>See</i> PUHKUK	
Nuhog, my body. <i>See</i> hog	
NUKON, night	
Nummissis, my sister	
NUNKOMP, a young man, a youth	9
Nunkompaemes (<i>diminutive</i> <i>of nunkomp</i>)	12
Nunkompaes (<i>diminutive</i> <i>of</i> <i>nunkomp</i>)	12
NUNKSQAU,* a girl	9
Nunksquaemes (<i>diminutive</i> <i>of nunksquau</i>)	12
Nunksquaes (<i>diminutive</i> <i>of</i> <i>nunksquau</i>)	12
NUNNAUMON, my son	
Nunnogkus, my belly. <i>See</i> nogkus	
Nunnuppoowonuk, he died for me	18
Nunnutcheq, my hand	11
Nunnutcheqanash, my hands	11
Nunnutcheqanum, our hand	11
Nunnutcheqannunnonut, our hands	11
NUPPOONK, death	
Nuskon, my bone. <i>See</i> uskon	
Nusseet, my foot. <i>See</i> seet	
Nutcheq. <i>See</i> menutcheq	
Nuttah, my heart. <i>See</i> metah and tah	11
Nuttahhun, our heart. <i>See</i> metah and tah	11
Nuttaunoh, my daughter. <i>See</i> taunoh	
Nuttin. <i>See</i> tin	23
Nuttoon, my mouth	
Nux; yea, yes	21

* The last syllable of this word is printed in the original edition of the Grammar as it is in the present one (*qau*); but the diminutive, at p. 12, has the same syllable printed *qua*, as it is also in the Bible. *See* Joel iii. 3; Zech. viii. 5. The form *qua*, therefore, seems to be an error of the press.

Nuxyeuoutch, let it be yea. <i>James</i> v. 12	16
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O.

Og (the plural termination of <i>animate nouns</i> .)	<i>See</i> Gram. p. 9
Oh (an inflexion of <i>animate</i> <i>nouns</i> .) <i>See</i> Grammar, p. 8	
OKASOH, mother	
OHKE, earth	
Ohkeiyeu (<i>adv.</i>) towards the earth	21
Ongash and onganash (the plural termination of <i>ver-</i> <i>bal nouns</i> in ONK.)	<i>See</i> Gram. p. 10
Onk; a termination often added to verbs, in order to turn them into nouns	13, 20
Onkoue, beyond	21
Ooo. <i>See</i> aoo	
oom. <i>See</i> eum	
OSQHEONK, blood	
owee (<i>interj. of sorrow</i>)	22
Oxemes (<i>diminutive of the</i> <i>English word</i>) ox	9
Oxesog (<i>plur. of the English</i> <i>word ox</i>) oxen	9

P.

Pâ; a particle added to the <i>indicative mode</i> , to give it the sense of the first per- son of the imperative	25
Pagwodche (<i>adv. of doubting</i>) it may be	22
Pasuk (<i>numeral</i>) one. <i>See</i> the note on nequt	
Paswu, lately	21
Paummuonat, to pay*	42

* Roger Williams says, this is "a word newly made from the English

Paummuôunat, not to pay . . .	58
Peasik or peesik, small; used in expressing a degree of comparison	15
PETUHQUNNEG, bread	
Pigsemes (<i>diminutive of the English word</i>) pig	12
Pish. <i>See mos</i>	
POMANTAMÓONK, life	
POPON, winter	
PSUKSES, a little bird	12
Puppínashim, a beast	9
PUHKUK, a head	

Q.

Quah (<i>interj. of disdain</i>) . . .	22
Qunnuhtug (<i>from qunni, long, and mehtug, wood or tree</i>) used to denote a pike	15
Qussuk, a rock	10
Qut, but	22

S.

Sasabbath-dayeu, every sab- bath (<i>made a frequentative by doubling the first sylla- ble. See note on the word mohmoeg.</i>)	
Saup, tomorrow	21
SEPU, river	
SEET, foot	
Sheepsemes (<i>diminutive of the English word</i>) sheep . . .	12
Sohsúmóonk, forest	
SOKANON, SOKANUNK; rain	
Sun, sunnummatta? (<i>adv. of asking</i>) is it, or is it not? . .	21

word pay." *Key into the Languages of America*, ch. xxv.; in *Mass. Hist. Collect.* vol. v. p. 100. Williams writes the first person singular, indicative mode, *cuppáimish*, I will pay you; but Eliot writes it *kuppaumush*, at the same time directing the reader to pronounce *pay* and not *pau*. See *Gram.* p. 23.

T.

TAH, the heart. <i>See metah</i>	
Tahshé; a suppletive word used with the numerals. <i>See Gram.</i>	14
TASKON, horn	
TAUNOH, daughter	
Teanuk, presently	21
Teaogku (<i>adv.</i>) rather, unfin- ished	21
Tiadche, unexpectedly	22
Tin, tinne, tit; <i>suppletive syllables used "for orna- ment of the word."</i> <i>See Gram.</i>	23
Tinne. <i>See tin</i>	
Tit. <i>See tin</i>	
Toh; annexed to every per- son and variation in the optative mood. <i>See p. 65.</i> <i>See also nahpenont</i>	
Toh (<i>adverb of doubting</i>) it may be	22
TOKOI, it was cold	
Tohkônogque, although	22
Tohneit, if	22
Tohsu; a suppletive, used with the numerals	14
Tohsunash, how many	8
Tohsuog, how many	8
Tohwutch, why	20
TOHPY; ice, frost	
TOON, mouth. <i>See muttoon</i>	
Tummunk, the beaver	9

U.

Uh (an inflexion of animate nouns.) <i>See Grammar</i> , p. 8	
Um. <i>See eum</i>	
Us; a syllable added to the present tense in order to form the preterite	62, 63
USKON, a bone	
Ut. <i>See át</i>	
Uttiyeu, or tanyeu (<i>pron. rel.</i>) which	7
Uttiyeu (<i>adv.</i>) where	21

W.

- Waantam, he [is] wise . . . 13
 Waantamoonk, wisdom . . . 10
 Waantamunát, to be wise . . . 26
 Waantamounát (*the negative form of the preceding verb*) 27
 Waantamwe (*adv. of quality*) 22
 Wadchaneh (*imperat. mode*)
 keep me 19
 Wadchanittéinat, to be kept . 62
 Wadchanónat (*animate form*)
 to keep 42
 Wadchanounat (*anim. form neg.*) not to keep . . . 58
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 Wadchansh, keep thou . . . 19
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 to keep it, e. g. a tool, a garment, &c 26
 WADCHU, mountain
 WANNONKOOK, evening
 Wahsuk. *See* wasuk
 Wame or wamu (*adv.*) all . . . 21
 WASUK, husband
 Week, his house 11
 Weekit, in his house 11
 Weekou, their house, ... 11
 Weekuwout or weekuwomut,
 in his house: "Hence we corrupt this word Wigwam." *Gram.* 11
 Wehtauog, his ear. *See* MEHTAUOG
 WEQUAI, light
 Weshagan, hair of animals.
 See meesunk
 Wetu, a house 11
 WEYAU, flesh
 WISHITOO, the beard
 Woh (*conj. of possibility*)
 may or can. *This word is added to the indicative mode in order to form the potential* 20
 Woi. *See* napehmont
 Woi (*interj. of sorrow*) *the same with* owée 22
 WOMONITTUONK, love
 Wompesu, he is white 16
 Wompi, white 13
 Wompiyeuco, it is white . . . 16
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 Woskeche (*adv.*) without . . . 21
 WOSKETOMP, a man 9
 Wosketompoco, he is a man, or he became a man . . . 12, 16
 Wunnamuhkut, truly 21
 Wunnegen (*adv. of quality*) . . 22
 WUNNEPAG, leaf
 Wunnonkou, yesterday 21
 Wunnutcheh, his hand 11
 Wunnutheganoo, their hand . 11
 Wunnutheganowout, their hands 11
 Wunnutheganash, wunnutchehash, his hands 11
 WUSKODTUK, his forehead
 WUTCH (*subst.*) a nose
 Wutch (*conj.*) *See* newutche
 Wutche *See* newutche
 Wuttah, his heart. *See* metah
 Wuttalhou, their heart 11
 Wuttaskonoh, his horn. *See* taskon
 Wuttát, behind 21

Y.

- Yeu (*inan. form sing.*) this . . 7
 Yeug (*anim. form plur.*) these . 7
 Yeu nogque, towards this way . 21
 Yeuoh (*anim. form sing.*) this or that 7
 Yeuco. *See* aco
 Yeush (*inan. form plur.*) these . 7
 Yeu waj, for this cause . . . 22
 Yeu yeu, now 21

SKETCHES OF MINISTERS AND CHURCHES IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Continued.

WINCHESTER.

THE Congregational church in this town was organized on the 12th of November, 1736, by twelve professors of religion. The Rev. Joseph Ashley, who was graduated at Yale College, 1730, was settled as the first minister; and continued there until the depredations of the Indians occasioned his removal in 1747. He was succeeded by Rev. Micah Lawrence, 14 November, 1764. Mr. Lawrence was graduated at Harvard College in 1759; dismissed from the ministry 19 February, 1777. Rev. Ezra Conant succeeded Mr. Lawrence, and was ordained 19 February, 1788. He was dismissed 13 October, 1806. Rev. Experience Porter succeeded Mr. Conant, 12 November, 1807, and was dismissed 20 February, 1810. Rev. Salmon Bennett, the present minister of the church, and successor to Mr. Porter, was ordained 10 September, 1817. The members belonging to his church amount to about 100.

KINGSTON.

Rev. Mr. Choate was the first minister of Kingston. He went from Ipswich, Mass. with the first settlers, and resided in garrison with them. He was never ordained. After the people built separate dwelling houses, they invited Rev. Ward Clark to take the pastoral care of the church, which was probably gathered about 1725. His ordination took place the same year. He died in 1737, and was succeeded by Rev. Joseph Secombe, in 1738. Mr. Secombe was a learned, useful and worthy man. He died in 1760, and was succeeded by Rev. Amos

Tappan, who was ordained in 1761, and died in 1771. Mr. Tappan was succeeded by the Rev. Elihu Thayer, D. D. who was ordained in 1776, and died in 1811. Rev. John Turner is the present minister of the town, and was settled in 1810.

CHESTER.

The first settlements in Chester were made in the year 1719. Two parishes were early established by an act of the Legislature.

A Congregational church was organized as early as 1729, and the Rev. Moses Hale was ordained that year. He received his education at Harvard College, where he was graduated in 1722. Becoming partially deranged, he was dismissed by an ecclesiastical council, in Aug. 1734. Rev. Ebenezer Flagg, who was graduated at Harvard College in 1725, was ordained the successor of Mr. Hale in 1736, and continued in the ministry the long period of sixty years, and died 14 November, 1796, at the age of 92. Rev. Nathan Bradstreet was settled as a colleague with Mr. Flagg in 1793, and received a dismission in October, 1818. Rev. Joel R. Arnold, the present pastor, was ordained 8 March, 1820.

The Presbyterian church was regularly organized in 1732. Rev. John Wilson, a native of Ulster, in the north of Ireland, was ordained in 1734, and departed this life, 1 February, 1779. He was a pious, useful and respectable minister—lived respected and died lamented. After the death of Mr. Wilson, the church was vacant twenty-four years, but the publick worship of God in that period was regularly maintained. At length, Rev. Zaccheus Colby was installed 13 October, 1803, and continued the pastor only about five years, on account of being seized with a paralytick affection, which rendered him incapable of performing his official duties. Publick worship was maintained by hiring occasional preaching, till 19 February, 1817, when Rev.

Clement Parker was ordained. The parish now consists of 113 legal voters, and the church of 69 communicants. The Congregational parish consists of 133 legal voters, and the church of 55 communicants.

CONCORD, 12 *September*, 1821.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF DONATIONS.

THE thanks of the Massachusetts Historical Society are presented for the following donations.

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A Holmes.

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two Persons betrothed to each other; Some Transactions of Commissioners of the United Colonies, 1646, original; Letter of President Arnold, of Providence, respecting the Quakers, 1657, and giving reasons for treating them with moderation, rather than persecuting them; Result of a Council of Ministers in and about Boston, 1659, in the case of Rev. Mr. Stone of Hartford; Letter of Lord Willoughby, 1667; Master Cheever's Petition to Andros, to be continued school-master, 1688; Order or Warrant for keeping sacred the 30th of January—1688; Judge Stoughton's Answer to Sir E. Andros, for delay in giving Judgment in certain Causes in Court, 1688; List of Actions in Court, 1688; Opinion of Council respecting Leverett's Ship, with Colony Seal, 1686; Officers of the Town of Boston, 1686; Opinions of the Elders of the Churches about the Charter, 1686; Commission of Governour Phips to E. Hutchinson, 1693; Pay of Ministers in the vicinity of Boston, 1657; List of Pastors of Churches, in 1707, who petitioned in favour of Mr. Leverett, as President of College.

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The Board.

Rev. Mr. Lowell's Discourses delivered in the West Church in Boston, December 31, 1820; and at the Ordination of Rev. Richard M. Hodges in the South Parish in Bridgewater.

The Author.

Botta's History of the War of the Independence of the United States of America. Translated from the Italian, by George Alexander Otis.

The Translator.

The New York Spectator.

The Publishers, Francis Hall & Co.

The Columbian Centinel. *Benjamin Russell, Esq.*

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Mr. Jacob B. Moore of Concord, N. H.

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